THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA

(*Cir. 455-1000 A D.*)

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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L D Barnett

FOREWORD

The privilege of writing this *prakkathana* to Dr Sinha's monograph on the history of Magadha has given me great pleasure, for I watched the growth of that work under his hands with keen interest, and I rejoice to see it now issuing from the press

In a recent address to young artists the President of the Royal Academy advised them to choose rather to be dull than to be original, meaning that an artist does better to follow sound traditional lines, though they may be unexciting, than to advertise himself by novel and sensational methods of unproved validity Now Dr Sinha's work is certainly original, but happily its originality is of the valid sort, for while following strict scientific methods he has used his eyes with such effect that he has observed many facts which have escaped the notice of previous historians, and thereby has arrived at conclusions which are novel, probable and important A notable instance is his study of the Gupta coinage Withal, he has never in the least degree yielded to the temptation to sacrifice sobriety for sensationalism, and he has throughout remained a cautious seeker of truth, endowed with the faculty of *nira-ksira vivecana* Moreover, he has been happy in the choice of his subject, for Magadha was for many splendid centuries a chief sphere of India's political and cultural development, a scene on which the national genius rose to heights of unsurpassed glory

L D BARNETT



Author

PREFACE

This work has been undertaken as a revised study of the dynastic history of Magadha from *Cir.* 455-1000 A. D. Illustrious scholars like Hoernle, Smith, Barnett, Allan, Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Rapson, R. D. Bannerji, R. C. Majumdar, B. C. Sen, H. C. Ray, D. C. Sircar, A. Ghosh, R. G. Basak, D. R. Bhandarkar, K. N. Dikshit, K. P. Jayasval, A.S. Altekar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, Pannalal, R. K. Mookerji, K. L. Barua, V. V. Mirashi, E. A. Piers, R. S. Tripathi, T. G. Aravamathan, K. S. Aiyanger, Richard Burn, N. K. A. Shastri, Rev. Father Heras and a host of other scholars have thrown light on one or the other aspects of the subject in their books or articles. But recent discovery of some new inscriptions and a revised study of some other inscriptions and the coins necessitate a reassessment of the data so far known. Moreover, while learned scholars like R. D. Bannerji, R. C. Majumdar, R. S. Tripathi, N. K. A. Shastri and A. S. Altekar have written a comprehensive and connected account of Orissa, Bengal, Kanauj, the Cholas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas respectively, it was really surprising that no History of Magadha as such was available. *Magadha more than any single region of India dominated* the history of the country in ancient times, and, therefore, a History of Magadha is a great desideratum.

The Gupta period has still many gaps to be filled in, but the outline of the political history and the dynastic succession up to Kumāra Gupta I is fairly well known. The period after the death of Kumāra Gupta is very complicated, and the discovery of the Nālandā seals has led scholars to suggest many alternative theories of the succession to the Gupta throne after Kumāra Gupta *I*. The problems of the *Maukharis* and the later Guptas and of their mutual struggles also need further careful consideration. The origins of Śaśāṅka were a *mystery*

to be unveiled The Pala chronology and dynastic history deserved revision

This monograph is based on a firsthand study of relevant inscriptions, coins and literature This has led me to some conclusions which depart from generally accepted notions I have shown that after the death of Kumara Gupta I, Puru Gupta came to the throne, as he was the legitimate heir, being the son of the Mahadevi of Kumara Gupta I. Skanda Gupta, a favourite son of Kumāra Gupta I and a national hero, successfully usurped the throne and frustrated the attempts of Puru Gupta and other royal princes to acquire control of the empire. I have held that the theory, that Skanda Gupta's heavy weight coins were debased and so they suggest the second Hūna invasion, cannot stand It has been established on the basis of numismatic and epigraphic evidences that Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscription is Kumara Gupta II, while Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals is Kumara *Gupta* III The last king of the imperial Gupta dynasty was Viṣnu Gupta I have reconsidered the problem of the Hūna invasions under Toramana and Mihirakula, and have suggested that Toramana overran Magadha and parts of the Uttara Pradesh, and that Bhanugupta's struggle with the Hūna leader in *Cir* 510 A D was not successful in checking the Huna advance in Central India, rather it was an instance of rebellion against the Huna occupation of the Indian soil, sometime after Toramāna's success in Magadha It is, therefore, heartening to find that a counterstruck seal of Toramana has been recently (January 1953) found at Ghositārāma in Kauśambi excavations, which suggests that Toramana overran the Gangetic valley and the Doab region [The Leader, January 22, 1953] I have also tried to show that the original home of the later Guptas was Magadha, where they began their political career as the feudatories of the later imperial Guptas It was after Mahāsenagupta was forced to retire to Malwa that Magadha came under the Maukhari rule from the time of Śarvavarman On the basis of coins and inscriptions I have suggested that Śaśānka was connected with Jayanāga

and followed him , and that Harsa's authority over Bengal and Magadha was possible only after the death of Śasanka Fresh light has been thrown on the history an l extent of the empire of the later Guptas The Pala chronology has been revised in the light of new discoveries Vigrahapala I and Śūrapala I have been shown to be different persons, and it has been urged that the capital of the Palas from the time of Dharmapala to that of Mahipala I was in Bihar Suryavarman of the Sirpur inscription has been identified with the Maukhari prince of the same name and son of Iśanavarman In the Introduction an attempt has b en made to explain how geography and racial complexity together with its economic conditions have conditioned the imperial history of Magadha

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This work is substantially the thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of Docterate of Philosophy of the University in August 1948 At the outset I must express my sincere gratefulness to the Government of Bihar for granting me a state scholarship (Overseas), which enabled me to carry on this research work in the School of Oriental Studies, London, from 1946 to 1948

In the preparation of this volume I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my supervisor Dr L D Barnett, D Litt , C B who has not only supervised my study and given me numerous valuable suggestions, but has taken great pains to go through every line of the entire book He has increased my debt to him, still more, by kindly contributing *Prakkathana* to this book To Mr John Allan, the late Keeper of the Coins of the British Museum, I owe much Under him I read Numismatics, and without his willing co operation and valuable help it could not have been possible for me to use the numismatic evidences fully in order to arrive at revealing conclusions I am well aware of the fact that some of these conclusions are of a tentative nature, necessarily because of paucity of complete data However, in the field of research in ancient Indian history we have to be content with more than one plausible conclusion about many problems, until we come

across any incontrovertible piece of evidence I claim that my conclusions, set forth in the book, are most reasonable and plausible in the light of evidences available

I also express my profound gratitude to Mr A Master of the School of Oriental and African Studies, who initiated me into the mysteries of Indian epigraphy, and I am very grateful to him for the pains he took in reading the early inscriptions with me My thanks are also due to Professor C H Philips for some valuable suggestions and instructive seminars

My cousin Sri Mithilesh Kumar Sinha, a post graduate student of History, and Sri Hari Kishore Prasad, and Sri Bhagavati Sharan Varma, Research scholars in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, deserve thanks for preparing the Index To Sri Santi Kumar Jain, Manager, Svatantra Nava Bharat Press, I am grateful for the special interest that he has taken in the publication of the volume

My acknowledgements are due to the Keeper of the Coins and Medals, British Museum, and to the Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India for kindly allowing me to reproduce photographs of their coins and inscriptions respectively

Inspite of my care, there are some proof mistakes in the book I crave the indulgence of the learned scholars for these few lapses

11th March, 1953 **B P Sinha**

Abbreviations

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.	A. B. O. R. I.
Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society.	A. B. N. U. H.
Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.	A. S. I. A. R.
Archaeological Survey Reports (*Cunningham*)	C. A. S. R.
Ancient Geography of India (Cunningham)	C. A. G. I.
Ancient History of the Deccan	A. H. D.
Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-kalpa.	M. M. K.
Bangalār Itihāsa.	B. I.
Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly.	B. I. S. M. Q.
Bhandarkar's list of inscriptions of Northern India.	B's. List.
Bombay Gazetteer.	Bomb. Gaz.
Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.	B. S. O. S.
Calcutta Review.	C. R.
Cambridge History of India.	C. H. I.
Catalouge of the Buddhist-Sanskrit Manuscripts, the University Library, Cambridge.	Cat. Bud. Sa[illegible] Mss. Camb. U[illegible]
Catalogue of the Coins of the British Museum, Gupta Dynasties and Śaśāṅka	C.C.G.D,B.M. B. M. C.
Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum	C. I. M.
Coins of Ancient India.	C. A. I.
Coins of Medieval India.	C. M. I.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.	C. I. I.
Dynastic History of Northern India.	D. H. N. I.
Dynasties of the Kanarese District.	D. K. D.
Early History of Bengal (Paul)	E. H. B. P.
Early History of Bengal (R. C. Majumdar)	E. H. B. R.
Early History of the Deccan.	E. H. D.

Early History of India.	E. H. I.
Epigraphia Indica	E. I.
Gauḍarājamālā.	G. R.
Harṣacharita.	H. C.
Harṣacharita (Tr. by Cowel & Thomas).	H. C. (CT.)
Hindustan Review.	H. R.
History of Bengal (Majumdar)	H. B. R.
History of Kanauj (Tripathi)	T. K.
History of North-Eastern India.	H. N. E. I.
Imperial Gazetteer of India.	Imp. Gaz.
Imperial History of India.	I. H. I.
Indian Antiquary	I. A.
Indian Culture.	I. C.
Indian Historical Quarterly.	I. H. Q.
Journal of the Andhra Historical Society	J. A. H. R. S.
Journal of the Assam Research Society	J. A. R. S.
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.	J. B. O. R S.
Journal of the Bihar Research Society.	J. B. R. S.
Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	J. B. B. R. A. S.
Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.	J. B. H. S.
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.	J. B. T. S.
Journal of the Department of Letters.	J. L.
Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.	J. G. J. R. I.
Journal of the Greater India Society.	J. G. I. S.
Journal of Indian History.	J. I. H.
Journal of the Madras University.	J. M. U.
Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.	J. N. S. I.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (United Kingdom).	J. R. A. S.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).	J. R. A. S. (N.S.)
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.	J. A. S. B.

Journal of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.	P. J. A. S. B. or Pro. A. S. B.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series).	J. A. S. B (N.S.)
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3rd Series.	J. A. S. B. L.
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.	J. U. P. H. S.
Kielhorn's list of Inscriptions of Northern India.	K's list.
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India	M. A. S. I.
Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India	M. N. S. I.
Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.	M. A. S. B.
Nāgarī Prachāranī Patrikā.	N. P. P.
Nagpur University Journal.	N. U. J.
New Indian Antiquary.	N. I. A.
New Series.	N. S.
On Yuan Chwang (Watters)	Watters.
Political History of Ancient India.	P. H. A. I.
Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.	P. T. O C.
Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.	P. I. H. C.
Proceedings and Transactions.	Pro. Trans.
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.	Q. J. M. S.
The Life of Hiuen Tsang (Tr. By Beal)	The Life.
The Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Altekar)	R. A.
The Records of the Western World (Beal).	Records.
Select Inscriptions Vol. I.	S. I. I.

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INTRODUCTION

I.

What was the geographical extent of Magadha in the period under review? At the outset it is fair to remember that the boundaries of the various kingdoms or provinces in India have fluctuated owing to political and administrative exigencies. It has been generally assumed that Magadha embraced "the districts of Patna and Gaya in the southern part of Bihar."[1] According to Rhys Davids[2] "Magadha was a narrow strip of some *considerable length from north to south, about twelve to fifteen* percent in area of the size of Kośala ___ Magadha corresponded in the time of Buddha to the modern district of Patna, but with the addition of the northern half of the modern district of Gaya. The boundaries were probably the Ganges to the north, the Son to the west, a dense forest reaching to the plateau of Chota Nagpur to the south, and Anga to the east. The river Champā had been the boundary between Magadha and Anga." According to Cunningham,[3] Magadha was bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Benaras on the west, by Hiranyaparvata or Monghyr on the east, and by Kiranasuvarna or Singbhum on the south." "It must, therefore, have extended to the Karmanasa river on the west, and to the sources of the Damuda river on the south." Anga, which corresponded to the modern districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur, was annexed to Magadha by Bimbisāra in the time of Buddha. Therefore the eighty thousand parishes over which the king of Magadha ruled included villages of Anga as well. It is true that off and on we find references to Anga in inscriptions from the 6th to the 10th Century A.D., but it can hardly

1 Advance History of India, p. 57
2 C. H. I. I. p. 182
3 C. A. G. I. p. 518

be disputed that from the 6th Century B C down to our period of study, the country of Anga had been practically absorbed into Magadha Therefore, for our period of enquiry, the eastern boundary of Magadha may be deemed to be conterminus with the eastern limit of Anga In the opinion of Buchanan "Anga, according to the most commonly received opinion and according to the traditions of the inhabitants, is bounded on the east by Gaur"[1] Buchanan[2] refers to the Śaktisangamatantra, wherein it is stated that Magadha extends from the temple of Vyāseśvara Śiva on the Vindhya mountain at the frontier of Gaur to Vyasa Kunda on the Karmanāśā river According to the opinion of the common inhabitants, "the country west of Teliagarhi is included in Magadha"[3] At Teliagarhi and Sikragully (Sikrigali) the Rajmahal Hills almost touch the Ganges, and these have formed "excellent strategic points in Bengal's first line of defence"[4] Teliagarhi pass formed "the boundary between the Mughal provinces of Bengal and Bihar"[5] It may not, therefore, be incorrect that in the ancient and the early medieval periods also the political boundary of Magadha extended up to the Rajmahal Hills in the east

H P Shastri[6] has quoted later Brahmanical literature to show that Kīkata (which meant Magadha) extended up to Chunār in the west According to the learned scholar "the vast territory to the south of the Ganges and north of the Vindhya ranges, extending from Mudgagiri in the east to the Caranādri (Chunār) in the west, is called Magadha The tract lying between the Karmanasa and Chunār, however, is often joined to Kāśi on the opposite side of the river" In the opinion of Nundalal Dey,[7] the western boundary of Magadha

1 An account of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11, by Francis Buchanan, p 56
2 *Ibid* p 58
3 *Ibid* p 58
4 H B R I p 3
5 Buchanan, *op cit* p 58
6 Magadhan Literature, p 1
7 Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India p 116.

was the Soṇa. Rhys Davids[1] once observed that "Magadha was probably then bounded to the north by the Ganges, to the east by the river Champā, on the south by the Vindhya Mountains, and on the west by the river Soṇa." It is significant to note that we have a clear epigraphic evidence that Magadha included large parts of the modern district of Shahabad. From the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II[2] we learn that the village (Deo-Baranārk), 25 miles south-west of Arrah, was included in Nagara (Pāṭaliputra) bhukti. Thus it is clear that the western boundary of Magadha extended beyond the river Son. The country between the Son and the Karmanāsā was known as Karukhdeśa from the Daitya Karukh.[3] In the opinion of B. C. Law,[4] the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa appears to locate the Kārūṣas or Karūṣas in the modern Shahabad district. In the Mahābhārata they are mentioned along with the Matsyas, the Kāśis, the Chedis and the Pañchālas. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[5] groups them among the inhabitants of the Vindhya mountains. Pargiter[6] concluded that "it was a hilly country south of Kāśī and Vatsa and between Chedi and Magadha, i.e. it comprised the hilly country of which Rewa is the centre, from about the river Ken on the west as far as the confines of Bihar on the east." It appears that the southern district of Shahabad was called Kārūṣadeśa. In our period the entire district of Shahabad was an integral part of Magadha. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that the Karmanāsā formed the western boundary of Magadha, which at one time even extended to Chunār. There is no difference of opinion on the point that the Ganges formed the northern boundary of Magadha. Its southern boundary was marked by the Vindhyas, extending to the north-east through the

1. Buddhist India, p. 24.
2. C.I.I. III, No. 46. pp. 214 ff.
3. An account of the district of Shahabad in 1809-10, by Francis Buchanan, p. 39.
4. Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II. pp. 31-33.
5. M.P.P. (Tr.) p. 341.
6. J.A.S.B. 1895. pp. 249 ff.

Kaimur range and Chota Nagpur plateau beginning from about the Ramgarh hills.

Thus, we find that in our period Magadha comprised the modern districts of Patna, Gaya, Shahabad Monghyr and Bhagalpur The Gangetic valley is divided into three provinces, U P, Bihar and Bengal Magadha forms the central belt of this rich alluvial plain. Living in the centre of the continuous low lying green plains the people of Magadha must have felt inspired to extend their arms right and left and to bring the entire Gangetic-Yamunā plain under their grip It was, thus natural for the Magadhas to think, so to speak, in imperial terms The Central Gangetic valley, including both Magadha and Tīrabhukti, found the loftiest mountain in the north, and elevated plateau in the south and south-west and low lying plains in the east This geographical contrast must have contributed not a little to stimulate the vigorous political, religious and cultural activities of the people, and the history bears it out Though bounded on the south and south-west by the plateau and the extension of the Vindhya mountain, Magadha was not cut off from the south, as these hill ranges were very much broken, and a Chandragupta or Samudra Gupta from Magadha could easily think of bringing the Deccan under the suzerainty of Magadha.

Economic conditions also favoured Magadha The country is very fertile due to the alluvial soil, and is watered by the Ganges and its tributaries Agriculture flourished and industries developed In the Ayodhya Kanda of the Ramayana we read that Daśaratha told his queen Kaikeyi, "I shall present to you articles manufactured in Magadha, pray do not trouble yourself about the banishment of Rama'[1] From the Jatakas we learn that Magadha was full of big merchants and bankers It was rich in seven kinds of gems, and was famous for conch shells The Asampadana Jataka refers to a Magadhan setthī named Śankha, who was master of eighty crores of

1. Quoted by B C Law in Ancient Indian Tribes p 94

riches According to Yuan Chwang Magadha was a country of rich soil and luxuriant crops A special variety of rice was grown From the Mahābhārata we learn that Rājagṛiha had a teeming population. According to Jinaprabha it contained 3600 houses of merchants.[1] Yuan Chwang also refers to populated towns The Rig Veda refers to the kine (cattle) of Kikata.[2] This shows that cattle was an important kind of wealth in Magadha Through Magadha passed the main trade-routes up and down the Ganges A trade route ran "from Savatthi (Śrāvasti) to Rājagaha (Rājagṛiha), passing through Schavya, Kapilavastu, Kuśināra, Pāvā, Ratthi-gāma, Bhanda-gāma, Veśali, Pataliputra and Nālandā The road probably went on to Gaya, and there met another route from the east, possibly from Tāmralipti to Banaras" The main route between east and west was along the great rivers by boats on hire We also hear of express boats. The boats went right down to the mouths of the Ganges and thence either across or along the *coast to Burma We also learn of traffic downwards as far as* Magadha or Champā, and upwards to Kauśāmbī, where it met the main trade-route running from Savatthi to Patitthāna (Paithan) We are also told of traders going from Videha to Gandhāra and from Magadha to Sovira on the west coast.[3] Thus, we find that Magadha was connected by roads and river-routes with all parts of India, and must have gained much by way of custom duties from the immense traffic passing through it Growth of trade and commerce and consequent contact with far and near *countries exerted another stimulating effect* on the people.

The racial complexity of the people of Magadha may have also proved conducive to their vigorous activities It is self-evident that Magadha was one of the last countries to be completely Brahmanised Whether the Vrātyas were non-Āryans or an earlier band of the Āryans, it is clear that they were assi-

1 The Magadhas in Ancient India
2 Magadhan Literature p 2
3 Buddhist India pp. 103 104

milated by the Magadhas and hence were looked down upon by the Āryans of Brahmāvarta Weber also suggests the persistence of the aboriginal blood in Magadha [1] Thus it may be assumed that while in the Upper Gangetic valley the non Āryans were completely subdued and enslaved, in Magadha and further east the Āryans made less impression on the aborigines This racial contrast may explain the phenomena of tremendous political and religious revolutions with Magadha as the centre Free from the shackles of Brahmanical orthodoxy and rigid pattern, the people of Magadha, greatly intermixed in blood began to think for themselves and they developed imperialistic ideas as well Thus a power, which controlled Magadha and led her vigorous sons and daughters, was bound to assert its predominance over the rest of India

II

The history of Magadha from the earliest times to the dawn of the Buddhist Age is not well known But there is no doubt that from very ancient times Magadha must have played a dominant role which her geography and economics ordained for her A reading of the ancient and the early medieval his tory of India clearly brings out that there is no exaggeration in the assert on that "three fourths of India's history is the history of Magadha" [2] The fact that the entire Vedic literature displays open hostility and disgust towards Magadha and its people suggests that Magadha must have been a great stronghold of the pre Āryans and refused to be absorbed in the stereotyped Brahmanical pattern Before the discovery of tl e ruins of Mohenjodaro and Harappa the Cyclopean walls on the hills of Rajagriha were almost the most ancient archaeo logical remains in India From the point of archaeology, even to the present day, a huge gap separates the age of Mohenjo daro from that of the Mauryan period We have strong

1 Ved c Index Vol II p 117
2 Glories of Magadha p 5.

suspicions that thorough excavations in some test sites in Magadha may expose materials which would unveil many mysteries of the prehistoric past. It is quite possible that the civilisation that prevailed in Mohenjodaro and Harappa spread not only westward but also eastward along the great rivers, and Magadha may have been one of the last, if not also the earliest, centres of this great civilisation.

It is not, therefore, strange that we do not find mention of Magadha in the Ṛig-Veda. But it mentions a people called Kīkaṭa Yāska declared that Kīkaṭa was the name of a non-Āryan country. Zimmer and Weber identified Kīkaṭa with Magadha. "But the identification is uncertain and is doubted by Oldenberg and Hillebrandt."[1] But in later literature Kīkaṭa is a synonym of Magadha. The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions Gaya and Rājagṛiha in Kīkaṭa. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also mentions Kīkaṭa; and Gaya-pradesha is in Kīkaṭa according to Śrīdhara. In the Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi occurs the phrase "*Kīkaṭa Magadhāhvayāḥ.*"[2] The name of Magadha occurs in the Atharvaveda, and it is one of the countries where fever is washed away. In the Vrātya hymn of the Atharvaveda Magadha is said to be connected with the Vrātyas and his mitra, his mantra, his laughter and his thunder in the four quarters. In the Śrauta-Sūtra the equipment, characteristic of the Vrātyas, is said to be given to a bad Brahmin living in Magadha when the latter is admitted into the Āryan Brahmanical community.[3] *It is, therefore, clear that the* Magadhas were intimately connected with the Vrātyas. In the Vedic literature there are copious references to the Indra-Vṛitra struggle. Were the Vrātyas connected with Vṛitra? However, there is no doubt that the Vrātyas were objects of abuse by the vedic Āryans. Whether they were Āryans or non-Āryans is

1. Vedic Index, Vol. I. p. 159.
2. Quoted in P.H A.I. 4th edn p. 95, note 5.
3. Vedic Index, Vol. II. *p. 116.*

not clear H P Shastri[1] thinks that the Vrātyas were a nomadic horde belonging to the earlier Āryan migration group, and they made friends with the Māgadhas, the pre-Āryan people The Vrātyas were, therefore, not within the pale of the vedic Āryan society, and could be admitted into it only after some purification ceremony But in the epic and Purānic literature Magadha becomes a powerful kingdom Pargiter[2] points out that "though the (Puranic) account is said to have been narrated to Paurava kings or to Ṛsis in the Naimiṣa forest, yet the ground from which the historic changes are viewed is Magadha"

Except for the doubtful mention of Pramaganda, as a king of Magadha, no king of Magadha is directly mentioned in the vedic litereture The Mahābharata and the Puranas mention the earliest dynasty of Magadha founded by Brihadratha, the son of Vasu Chaidya-Uparichara. According to the Rāmāyana Vasu himself had founded Girivraja It is known from the great epic that Girivraja (Rājagṛiha) was the capital of the great king Jarāsandha. He was a powerful ruler who had raided as far west as Mathurā He was a friend of Kamśa and Karna, and was killed by Bhima, the second Pāndava prince The dynasty continued for a long time afterwards The second Magadhan dynasty was the Haryanka-kula, whose first important king was Bimbisara

III

The history of India obtains some degree of exactitude from the dawn of the 6th Century B C, when the Purānic accounts can be profitably compared with the Buddhist and Jaina traditions The early Buddhist literature tells us of an India divided into sixteen Mahajanapadas, some of which were republics and some monarchies Magadha, Anga, Vatsa, Kaśi, Kośala and Avanti were ruled by dynasties which dreamt of empires Magadha, which was only one of the competitors,

1 Magadhan Literature, pp 6 11.
2 The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age p X

finally overcame the centrifugal forces in Indian history and integrated a large part of the country under one political authority. The architects of the first historical empire of Magadha were Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Śiśunāga and Mahāpadmananda.

Thus, Magadha emerged triumphant out of the interstate conflicts for the supremacy of India. As happened on many occasions later, Magadha took the lead in championing successfully the forces of integration against the equally natural and powerful tendencies of disintegration and localism at a time when national-independence was threatened and the N. W. India had come under the Achaemenians and, then, under the Greeks.

IV.

The Nandas were overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya with the assistance of Chāṇakya (*Cir.* 322 B. C.); soon afterwards, Chandragupta expelled the Greeks from the Punjab and the N. W., and brought the whole of Northern India from the Hindukush to Bengal, and from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas under his rule. It is possible that he might have reduced a considerable part of the Deccan as well. He had to face an invasion by Seleukos Niketor, who dreamt of recovering the lost Greek possessions in India. But the outcome of the struggle was favourable to the Indian hero, and Seleukos made peace by ceding the Satrapies of Paropanisadai, Aria and Arachosia, and entered into a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta. The treaty may be dated between 305 and 303 B. C.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, who maintained friendly relations with the Greek monarchy of Syria. Bindusāra is credited with the conquest of the Deccan,[1] but this is not definite,[2] as Chandragupta himself might have added the Deccan to his empire.

1. E.H.I. (4th Edn.) p. 156.
2. P.H.A.I. (4th Edn.) p. 244.

Bindusāra was succeeded by his son Aśoka, a name that stirs the imagination and is enshrined as one of the most valuable treasures of world history Aśoka apparently came to the throne in 273 B C, and was formally crowned in 269 B C[1] In the early years of his reign he carried on the traditional policy of imperial annexation, enunciated by his predecessors He declared war on Kalinga and after a severe struggle annexed it Under Aśoka the Mauryan empire extended to its farthest limits Almost the whole of India, from the Hindukush on the north-west to Kalinga in the east, from the Himalayas in the north to the Pennar river in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east, was under one government presided over by Aśoka Only the extreme south, ruled by the Cholas, the Keralas, Satiyāputra and the Pandya, was outside the empire The Gāndhāras, Kāmbhojas, Yavanas, Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Āndhras, did not lie beyond Aśoka's dominions, as Rapson seems to think[2]

It is not difficult to imagine that the powerful Mauryan militarism could easily have swallowed what little remained outside its empire It might not have been even impossible for the vastly increased resources of the well organised empire to annex even extra Indian dominions beyond the north-west frontiers of India But Aśoka cried halt when he was in the midst of a resounding victory over powerful enemy, Kalinga It is a unique example in the annals of the world that a victorious conqueror stopped the military machine from moving ahead when it was most violent and positively successful The Kalinga war *ended the era of aggressive militarism and ushered in an era* of social progress, religious toleration, peace and international *good will Aśoka started on a new kind of conquest, that of* Dharmavijaya He preached religious toleration, social understanding, civic duties and above all consideration for the weak

1 E.H I p 164, Chandragupta Maurya, pp 63-64
2 C H I pp 514 515, P H A I. (4th Edn) p 260.

and helpless, including even animals and birds. The entire administrative machinery was geared to the new ideal, and was inspired by the enthusiasm of the emperor. Aśoka did not limit his benevolent activities to the frontiers of his dominion, but sent missions to far off lands in Asia, Europe and Africa, carrying the gospel of love and mutual understanding, infact the essence of India's best heritage, the concentrated wisdom of her mature civilisation. From Pāṭaliputra he enunciated the policy—the policy of *non-violence of the strong*—that the powerful state of Magadha bears no ill-will to its neighbours, weak or strong, but it expects them to allow it to carry on the work for the goodwill of all animate beings—men and animals. Here was a wonderful example for all time to come. The way to peace lies in the greatest power voluntarily eschewing visions of conquests and thereby encouraging disarmament by his neighbours; and thus releasing the entire resources of a rich empire for the good of all.

Aśoka lived up to his ideal. After his death the Mauryan empire began to be dismembered. Weak successors, foreign invasions and rebellions within and the triumphant spirit of localism brought about the downfall of the grand design reared up by Chandragupta and Aśoka. The sudden brake applied to the fast moving wheels of militarism by Aśoka must have produced some reaction among the vested interests, and a possible shock to the traditionally orthodox bureaucracy.

The fundamental weakness of India has been the spirit of localism. Even when some sort of political unity is established over a fairly extensive part of the country, the spirit of local independence lies ominously dormant, and as soon as the central authority becomes weak, the centrifugal forces appear on the surface and make quick work of what remains of the form of unity. Forces of disintegration and integration are the woof and warp of Indian history and they score, one over the other, alternately. This explains most of the history of the country, and the rise and fall of empires. The establishment of the Mauryan empire marked the climax of the success achieved

by centripetal over centrifugal forces, and India attained an extent of unity hardly equalled in any period, save probably in the British period, but even in this period India's north west frontier was much further east than in the time of the Mauryas A reaction was bound to set in, and it coincided with the death of Aśoka, but to make Aśoka responsible for the break up of the empire is to commit the fallacy of *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* Forces of disintegration, held long in check, reappeared and gained ground

V

In view of the conflicting accounts of the Purānas and the Buddhist literature, it is not easy to construct a history of the Mauryan dynasty after the death of Aśoka in *Cir* 232 B C One thing is certain, that the empire broke up, and ultimately Brihadratha, the last member of the dynasty was overthrown by Pusyamitra Śunga in *Cir* 187 B C[1] During his rule India was invaded by the Greeks This is referred to by Patañjali, Kālidāsa and the Gargī Samhitā. H. C Raychaudhuri[2] and Jayasval[3] have shown that the Greek invader was Demetrius, not Menander, as believed by Smith[4] However, Demetrius' raids into the Madhyadeśa were finally repulsed by Vasu mitra, the grandson of Pusyamitra Demetrius had to hurry back owing to troubles in his home kingdom Pusyamitra celebrated his success by the performance of at least two horse-sacrifices The Śunga dominion included most of the Madhya-deśa and a part of the Deccan Devabhūti, the last member of this dynasty, was overthrown by his Amātya Vasudeva, though the Śunga power survived in Central India "till the rise of the so called Āndhras."

The Kānva dynasty founded by Vāsudeva in *Cir* 75 B C

1 P H A I (4th Edn) p 320 Smith (E H I. 4th Edn. p. 208) places the coup d'état in 185 B. C.
2 P H A I (4th Edn) pp 323 324.
3 J B O R S. XIV pp 127 28
4 E H. I. p. 210

was short-lived, and was overthrown in *Cir.* 30 B. C. "Very little is known about the history of Magadha proper after the Kāṇvas."[1]

The weakness of the divided India was an opportunity to foreign invaders. The Śakas and the Pārthians conquered some parts of the country, but it was Kaniska I of the Kusāna dynasty who built up a vast Indian and extra-Indian empire from his capital near modern Peshawar in the first century A D[2]

Kaniska's Indian dominion in the east extended up to Ghazipur and Gorakhpur districts of the eastern Uttara Pradesh[3] According to a tradition he attacked even Pāṭaliputra and carried off from that city a Buddhist saint, Aśvaghosa. Some Kuṣāna coins have been found at Buxar, Patna and so far east as Orissa And it is not impossible that Magadha may have formed an integral part of the Kuṣāna empire. The decline of the empire began in the reign of Vāsudeva, who ruled at least from 152 to 176 A. D.[4]

As a matter of fact, in spite of laudable efforts of distinguished scholars like Jayasval and Altekar to reconstruct the history of India during this period, it has to be confessed that at least so far as the political history of Magadha is concerned we remain in comparative darkness until we come to the beginning of the Gupta empire.

VI.

In the inscriptions of the imperial Guptas their genealogy begins with Mahārāja Gupta. Allan[5] has identified Gupta of the inscriptions with Śrī Gupta, who built the China temple

1. P.H A I (4th Edn.) p. 333.
2. There is a keen controversy on the date of Kaṇiṣka. Fleet held that Kaniska founded the Vikrama era, commencing from B. C 58. Marshall, Sten Konow and Smith held that the rule of Kaniṣka began in about 125 A D, R C Majumdar makes him the founder of the Kalachuri era 248 49 A. D According to Rapson, Oldenburg, Thomas, Bannerji, Jayasval and many other scholars, Kaniṣka was the founder of the Śaka era, commencing from 78 A D. We have followed Rapson.
3 P H.A I. (4th Edn) p 395.
4 *Ibid* pp 399 400
5 C C.G D B.M pp. XV-XVI.

near Mṛigaśikhāvana, "about five hundred years ago," according to I-'Tsing. Chandra Gupta I, the grandson of Mahārāja Gupta, came to the throne in *Cir.* 319 A. D., and therefore his grandfather Gupta must have flourished in *Cir.* 270-295 A. D. or 275-300 A. D.

The facts that first Gupta to assume the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* was Chandra Gupta I,[1] who married Kumāradevī, a Lichchhavī princess, and that Samudra Gupta is referred to as "*Lichchhavīdauhitra*,"[2] and in the Chandra Gupta—Kumāradevī type of coins the legend "*Lichchhavayaḥ*" occurs on the reverse,[3] go to prove that the rise of the Guptas to an imperial position was largely due to the alliance with the Lichchhavīs But later on the Gupta kingdom absorbed the Lichchhavī state and we do not find any clear reference to their existence as an independent state in the Gupta period and after. A striking parallel may be sought in the history of Harṣa He at first took the Maukhari kingdom under his protection in favour of his sister, but later on the Maukhari kingdom was absorbed in the empire of Harṣa. It is very likely that the Lichchhavī state of Vaiśāli was merged into the Gupta empire in the time of Samudra Gupta, who may have inherited it. Chandra Gupta thus came to rule over a territory extending from Sāketa in the west to Magadha in the east.[4] Chandra Gupta I started the Gupta era in about 320 A. D., and he was succeeded by his son Samudra Gupta, who according to the Nālandā copper-plate was ruling in the fifth year of the Gupta era. Even if the inscription is spurious, it proves an ancient tradition of his rule in the 5th year of the era. It is also possible that Samudra Gupta may have had to face a rebellion of his brother Kācha whose coins are known. Samudra Gupta was a great conqueror who brought whole of the Gangetic valley under

1. C.I.I. III, No. 1. pp. 15-16.
2. *Ibid.*
3. C.C.G.D B.M. p 8.
4. The Purānic verses: *Anugaṅgā prayāgam cha sāketam Magadhāmstathā etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante Guptavamśajāḥ.*"

his direct rule, and was recognised as the overlord by Kuṣāna chiefs of the N W. and the rulers of Nepal, Kāmarūpa, Samatata etc He also overran Eastern Deccan Samudra Gupta was succeeded by Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya Some scholars place between them the short and inglorious reign of Rāma Gupta, who was overthrown by his younger brother Chandra Gupta Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya liberated Malwa and Saurāṣṭra from the yoke of the Śakas Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya between 412 and 415 A D Kumāra Gupta maintained the far flung empire intact, though in the last days of his reign he had to face serious dangers from internal and external enemies. His reign came to an end in 455 A. D

CHAPTER I

DEATH OF KUMARA GUPTA I AND ACCESSION OF PURU GUPTA

Last Years of Kumara Gupta I

The last years of Kumara Gupta I were not peaceful [1] This is suggested by the combined evidence of the Bhitari pillar-inscription [2] and Junagadh rock inscription [3] of Skanda Gupta Though there is no clear authority to hold that "Kumara Gupta was killed in battle against the Puṣyamitras," [4] there is a positive hint that the latter had become very powerful [5] Fleet [6] had placed the Puṣyamitras in the Vindhyan region in Central India H R Devaker [7] read '*Yudhyamitra*' in place of Puṣyamitra in the Bhitari pillar inscription, and identified them with the Hunas D C Sircar [8] thinks that "it is not possible to be definite" Jagannath [9] has shown that the reading is 'Puṣyamitra,', and the Puṣyamitras are known to have existed in Central India in the third century after Christ, and so may have continued to live there in the middle of the fifth century An attempt to read in the aggressive campaigns of the Puṣyamitras an offensive by a king of Kamarupa and descendant of Pusyavarman against the Gupta empire, [10] is hardly worth serious consideration We agree with Fleet in holding that during the later part of the reign of Kumara Gupta I, the Pusyamitras of Central India began to assail the might of the imperial Guptas, and Skanda Gupta as a prince had to wage severe battles against them The critical years of Kumara Gupta's reign are substantia

1 C I M Vol I p 97
2 C I I III No 13 pp 55ff
3 *Ibid* No 14 pp 6 ff
4 H N E I p 61
5 C I I III No 13 pp 55ff
6 *Ibid*
7 A B O R I I pt 2 p 99
8 S I p 314 Note 2
9 I H Q XXII pp 112ff
10 I H Q XXI p 4

ted by numismatic evidence The Bamnālī hoard of Gupta coins found in Nimar district in Holkar State in Central India contains coins up to the time of Kumāra Gupta I, and together with them a gold bar has also been found [1] Altekar[2] has rightly pointed out that ' the hoard was buried during the days of Pusyamitras' rebellion, and the gold bar might have been the result of melting the gold ornaments, quite a common practice in bad days in India up to the present days " Another hoard of gold coins found at Bayana[3] in Bharatpur was also buried in the time of Kumara Gupta I, probably during the same critical days Thus it is obvious that the last years of Kumāra Gupta were not happy

Besides the Pusyamitras' rebellion, the empire was menaced in the west by the Hūnas, a savage tribe living in Central Asia The Jūnāgadh inscription[4] mentions them as the Mlechchhas, and the Bhitari pillar inscription[5] refers to them as the Hūnas According to the account given by Chandragarbha Pariprichchā,[6] it appears that the Yavanas, Palhikas and Śakunas, (Kusānas) fought among themselves and invaded India up to the Ganges, but they were checked by Duhprasahahasta, son of King Mahendrasena, who crowned him king and himself retired to religious life The tradition may not be absolutely true but it may contain some truth Mahendrasena is probably Kumāra Gupta I and Duhprasahahasta is Skanda Gupta It appears that Kumara Gupta may have appointed his son Skanda Gupta to deal with the troubles When Skanda Gupta defeated his enemies his father was dead and so he reported to his own mother There is some ground for suspicion that Skanda Gupta defeated the Pusyamitras when he was a prince, while the final defeat of the Hūnas followed immediately after his succession to the throne The reference to the victory over the Hunas occurs

1 J N S I V, pp 135ff
2 *Ibid*, note 1, p 136
3 *Ibid* VIII pt 2, pp 179ff
4 C I I III, No 14 pp 62ff
5 *Ibid*, No 13 pp 55ff
6 Cited by Bu Ston in 'History of the Buddhism', pp 171 72

after it is stated that "with his own arms (he) established the lineage that had been made to totter and with his two arms subjugated the earth"[1] According to Altekar[2] the Beyana hoard of the Gupta gold coins was buried towards the end of the reign of Kumara Gupta or the beginning of that of Skanda Gupta, when person and property had become unsafe in the Uttar Pradesh and Rajputana Thus the empire immediately before and after the death of Kumara Gupta I in 455 A D[3] fell on evil days, and it is agreed on all hands that Skanda Gupta saved the empire from disruption and extinction

The Problem of the Succession after Kumāra Gupta I

Scholars like Smith,[4] Raychaudhuri,[5] Pannalal,[6] and others hold that Skanda Gupta was the immediate successor of Kumāra Gupta But the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta[7] makes Puru Gupta[8] the son and successor of Kumara Gupta I Thus the problem is who came first, Puru Gupta or Skanda Gupta ?

1 C I I III No 13 p 50
2 JNSI VIII pt 2, pp 179ff
3 On one of the silver coins of Kumara Gupta there is the date 136 (G E) (CCGDBM, p xliv, I A 1902, p 266)
4 E H I (4th Edn) p 366
5 P H A I (3rd Edn) p 366
6 HR Jan 1918 pp 1ff
7 J A S B LVIII, p 84f
8 Hoernle read 'Pura on the Bhitari seal (J A S B LVIII, pp 90 ff) Fleet (I A XIX, p 210) concurred with the reading Smith at first accepted Buhler's reading as 'Sthira' (J A S B LXIII p 166), but later on Smith (I A 1902, p 261, note 13) accepted Hoernle's reading of 'Pura Inspite of Cunningham's earlier suggestion that the reading on the seal is Puru Gupta' (C M I pp 10 13) scholars had so far accepted the name as Pura Gupta But the recent discovery of the Nalanda seals (M A S I No 66 pp 64ff, E I XXVI pt V, pp 235ff) has necessitated a revision of the accepted reading Krishnadeva drew attention to the Nalanda seal of Visnu Gupta (E I XXVI, pt V, pp 235ff) where the sign of long 'u' of Pu occurs In the plate 3C (see infra), the long u sign is clear Therefore the name was written as Pūru in this seal In the Nalanda seal of Narasimha Gupta, Puru is clear (See the plate 3A, line 3) So the reading Puru Gupta suggested by Krishnadeva has been now accepted by scholars (A History of the Indian People, vol VI) *But in the Nalandā seal of Kumara Gupta of which an exce*llent reproduction is found in 'The Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material ' Memoir No 66 of the Archaeological Survey of India the name is clearly 'Puru' (*See the Plate 3B*) *In the Bhitarī seal of Kumara Gupta* in which Hoernle read 'Pura', the correct reading is 'Puru' An electro

Were they identical? Did they ascend the throne simultaneously in different parts of the empire? Some have held that Skanda Gupta died childless and was succeeded by his brother, or half brother, Puru Gupta, followed by Narasimha Gupta and Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal[1] Some[2] have identified Puru Gupta with Skanda Gupta, while others[3] have postulated a partition of the empire between Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta Basak held that after the death of Kumāra Gupta I the empire was divided into two branches one consisting of Skanda Gupta, Kumara Gupta II, Budha Gupta and Bhānu Gupta, and the other of Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta Kumāra Gupta III[4] Allan[5] also believed in "the existence of another Gupta line parallel to that whose genealogy is established by the Bhitari seal" Majumdar[6] once suspected the existence of two branches of the imperial Gupta family which were ultimately united under Budha Gupta

The Theory of the Partition of the Empire

Let us first examine the theory of the partition of the empire between Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta R G. Basak is the champion of this school He holds that Skanda Gupta was

facsimile of the seal, almost as good as the original is in the British Museum We examined it and found out that what Hoernle and Fleet read as 'ra' is clearly 'ru', the hook of medial 'u below the straight line 'ra' is certainly present, though it is faint Any magnifying glass would bear this out Mr John Allan who kindly examined the facsimile had no difficulty in reading 'ru' instead of 'ra' It can be seen in the plate 2 The foregoing letter is 'Pu', not Pu On the coin (CCGDBM Pl XXI, 23) which is *now in the British Museum, there is 'Pu' not Pu (See the Plate 1, No 6)* Thus it appears that both forms 'Puru' and Puru' were in use In Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary we have both forms Puru' and Puru' The Vedic literature also knows of both the forms (Vedic Index, vol II, pp 3, 11, 12) We have adopted the form 'Puru Gupta'

1 Hoernle, J A S B LVIII, pp 88ff Allan CCGDBM p 1 11, *H C Raychaudhuri, P H A I (3rd Edn) p 391, Smith, E H I p 329, I A* XXI, pp 237ff

2 *Hoernle, J R A S, 1909 pl I, p 129* Krishnadeva E I XXVI, pp 235ff, Bhandarkar D R., I C XI pp 231ff

3 E I XV p 118, HNEI pp 62 63

4 H N E I pp 62 63

5 CCGDBM p liii

6 J. A S B XVII (N S) p 249ff

succeeded by Kumara Gupta II of the Sarnath inscription[1] dated in the year 154 (G E), who was followed by Budha Gupta of the Sarnath inscription[2] and who should be identified with Budha Gupta of the Eran inscription[3] and Damodarpur copper plates[4] Budha Gupta was then followed by Bhanu Gupta of the Eran Posthumous Stone pillar inscription[5] and the fifth Damodarpur copper plate[6] (?) The learned scholar then believes in another line of Gupta rulers running from Puru Gupta He observes "it is evident that a line of Gupta rulers through Pura (?) Gupta ran parallel to that of which the genealogy has been established by the Sarnath inscriptions and Damodarpur plates'[7] He further elaborates his theory, and relying on the autho ity of the Junagadh rock inscription of Skanda Gupta wherein it is said that 'whom (Skanda) the Goddess of for tune and splendour of her own accord selected as her hus band having discarded all the other sons of the king (*Sarvan manujendraputran*)',[8] he observes, "this aspect of political affairs in the beginning of Skanda Gupta's reign corroborates the present writer s view (E I XV pp 119 20) that Pura (?) Gupta was the first king of a new line of rulers (a branch of the imperial dynasty) who were *allowed* by Skanda Gupta and his successors to enjoy a small kingdom, some where in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in South Bihar[9]

The theory so strongly urged suffers from serious inner contradictions Budha Gupta of the inscriptions and the Nalanda seal is evidently a great emperor extending his sway from Bengal to Malwa He has full imperial titles on the Da

1 A S I A R 1914 15 pp 124ff
2 *Ibid*
3 C I I III No 19 pp 90ff
4 E I XV pp 115ff
5 C I I III No 20 p 93
6 E I XV pp 115ff The read ng is challenged by Diksh t (c g XVII p 193 and note 1)
7 E I XV pp 118 120
8 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff
9 H N E I pp 62 63

modarpur plates[1] Against this it is hardly fair to postulate the continuous existence of a separate and independent kingdom under three or rather four successive sovereigns of four generations[2] all claiming full imperial titles Basak realises the difficulty inherent in his thesis and so suggests a peaceful partition of the empire and he says that it was respected by the princes of the two branches of the royal family for a long time He observes, "the rulers of the branch line through Skanda Gupta seem to have been more powerful than those belonging to the other branch, for in Budha Gupta's reign the Gupta power was in full height and splendour It may be believed that the rulers of the stronger branch may by courtesy and in good faith have suffered the other branch to rule somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire—perhaps in South Bihar where only we have the evidence of Narasimha Gupta's (Baladitya's) activity, e g building the famous temple in Nalanda The other parts of the Gupta empire including North Bengal and perhaps North Bihar also continued under the sovereignty of the other or stronger branch"[3] To even a casual reader it would be obvious that the arguments, quoted above, are hedged by numerous 'perhaps' and improbable assumptions unsupported by any evidence Basak's pet theory of the partition of the empire has led him into a labyrinth of irreconcilable situations, all easily assumed but not squarely met Codrington[4] who appears to believe in the division of the empire, finds it difficult to locate the rule of Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta III 'considering the evidence of the power of Budha Gupta' It is very unlikely that the stronger branch would tolerate the existence of a weak and independent kingdom for generations to follow, particularly in South Bihar (Magadha) which was the centre of the far flung empire Bhattasali pricks the bubble when he

1 E I XV p 114
2 J A S B LVIII, pp 84ff, E I XXVI pt V, pp 235ff
3 E. I XV pp 119 20
4. Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Gupta Rule, p 57

observes that "it is easy to see that the supposition does not meet the situation and such a courtesy to a branch line, whose origin was by revolt, is to say the least impolitic" [1] The view that Puru Gupta and his successors were inferior rulers of a small kingdom in South Bihar is vitally assailed by the evidence of the find spots and the contents of the Bhitari and Nalanda seals where all these rulers are given customary imperial titles wont to the imperial Guptas The numismatic evidence suggests that the rule of Narasimha Gupta and his successors prevailed in Bengal [2] They were therefore ruling over a pretty large kingdom extending from at least Eastern U P in the west to Bengal in the east and were certainly not petty rulers of a small kingdom in South Bihar, ruling by the sufferance of the members of the stronger branch of Skanda Gupta, as Basak would lead us to believe Moreover, he gives no reason in defence of the close relationship that he assumes between Skanda Gupta, Kumāra Gupta II and Buddha Gupta Really that is the vital part of the theory of the division of the empire between the two branches But it should be rejected now in view of the discovery of the Nalanda seal of Budha Gupta wherein he is found to be a son of Puru Gupta [3] So Budha Gupta did not belong to a line different from that of Puru Gupta As a matter of fact we have no basis to believe in the actual and formal partition of the empire and the continuous existence of two rival branches of unequal strength for many generations It is no use postulating the theory of the division of the empire when instead of solving the outstanding problems it creates more of these

Are Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta identical?

The conjecture that Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta were identical was first suggested by Hoernle,[4] suspected by

1 Quoted by R C Majumdar in J A S B. (N S) XVII pp 249ff
2 Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal—B C Sen p 22 Note 1
3 M A S I No 66 p 64 and see infra
4 J R A S 1909 pt I p 129

R C Majumdar,[1] and recently championed by Krsnadeva[2] The arguments advanced to support this theory may be summed up as follows —(a) While according to the Bhitari seal[3] Puru Gupta appears to be the son and immediate successor of Kumara Gupta I, according to the Bhitari pillar inscription[4] Skanda Gupta is said to succeed Kumara Gupta I both Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta are spoken of as '*tatpadanudhyata*' in relation to Kumara Gupta in the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta (?)[5] and the Bhitarī seal of Kumara Gupta[6] respectively therefore Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are identical (b) Paramartha's Vikramaditya, the patron of Vasubandhu has been identified with Skanda Gupta by Takakusu,[7] and his crown prince was Baladitya, who is no other than Narasimha Gupta, son of Puru Gupta,[8] therefore Skanda Gupta is the same person as Puru Gupta [9] (c) According to the Ārya Manjuśri mulakalpa Mahendra (=Kumara Gupta I) was succeeded by Sakara (=Skanda Gupta), who had more than one name, and he was in turn followed by Bala (=Baladitya),[10] Narasimha Gupta Baladitya succeeded Puru Gupta,[11] therefore Skanda Gupta is the same person as Puru Gupta with a different name [12] (d) it is likely that Skanda Gupta came to be known as Puru Gupta, meaning 'the great Gupta' in recognition of the unique services that he rendered to his family by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hūnas who had threatened the stability of the Gupta Empire [13] (e) "The coins of Puru (?) Gupta and Skanda Gupta are certainly contempo

1 I A XLVII pp 161ff J A S B (N S) XVII pp 249ff.
2 I I XXVI pt V pp 235 ff
3 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff
4 C I I III No 13 pp 5 ff
5 *Ibid* No 12 pp 51ff The reading of Skanda Gupta in the inscription is incorrect (See infra)
6 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff
7 J R A S 190 pp 33ff
8 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff
9 J R A S 1909 Pt I p 129 E I XXVI pp 235ff
10 I H I p 49 Sastri's Edn. pp. 628 29
11 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff
12 E I XXVI pp 235ff
13 *Ibid*

raneous and the coins which are now assigned to Puru Gupta w re previously attributed to Skanda Gupta [1] it is no doubt true that there are coins b-aring the leg nd 'Puru' and Śri Vikra mah,' but it is not impossible for a king to issue coins bearing *the legends of his different names* as Kacha coins have been attributed to Samudra Gupta,[2] therefore, so far as numismatic considerations are concerned, there is no ground for dismissing off hand the theory that Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are identical [3] (f) there are no coins of Puru Gupta, as the only coin attributed to contain the legend 'Pura' has 'Budha' [4] on the obverse

The argum nts arrayed above are interesting though deceptive A critical analysis of the data available to us exposes the utter hollowness of th- theory The Arya Manjuśri mula kalpa is a late mediaeval work, and it is a Buddhist religious book 'a holy book of the Buddhists and deserves to be placed along with the Vedas',[5] certainlv we cannot reconstruct the history of ancient India by relying literally on the Vedas The Buddhist work, mentioned above, contains 56 chapters, out of which only one (53rd chapter) appears to give historical traditions The account is very cryptic, dynasties are spread over in a *confused way, rulers are more often* that *not mentioned by the* initial letter of their name or title, and chronology is almost irreparably confused It cannot serve as a dependable basis for the reconstruction of the history of India According to the Ārya Manjuśri mula kalpa Samudra was succeeded by Vikrama (Chandra Gupta II), and Sakara (Skanda Gupta) by his younger brother (? *anuja*) Bala (Baladitya) [6] Scholars[7] now place Rama Gupta between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II, and Baladitya, who is identical with Narasimha

1 I A XLVII pp 161ff
2 C C G D B M p LXXIV
3 J A S B (N S) XVII pp 249ff
4 I C I p 681
5 Sastri Ed tion Preface p 2
6 I H I p 48 Sastri Edn pp 628 29
7 J.B O R.S XIV pp 223ff *ibid* XVIII pp 77ff, Age of the Imperial Guptas pp 26ff.

Gupta of the Bhitari seal, is not the younger brother (*anuja*) of Skanda Gupta, but the son of Puru Gupta [1] The contention that Skanda Gupta was called Puru Gupta after his victory over the Hūnas[2] is very improbable If it was so, then Skanda Gupta must have been popularly known as Puru Gupta and officially recognised as such in his time, Otherwise his successors would not have mentioned him as Puru Gupta on their seals[3] (if Puru Gupta was another name of Skanda Gupta) It is important to bear in mind that in all the inscriptions of the time of Skanda Gupta, well distributed in the period of his reign,[4] we have his name Skanda Gupta and in none of these inscriptions is even casually the other alleged name 'Puru Gupta' mentioned We know that Chandra Gupta II had another name Deva Gupta[5] and we find him referred to as 'Devaraja' in the Sānci inscription [6] On the gold and silver coins of Skanda Gupta, issued early or later in his reign, only Skanda *is mentioned Thus, there is absolutely no shred of evidence* to suggest that Skanda Gupta was known as Puru Gupta in his life, and therefore, it is certainly more than improbable that his successors would give up his well known name and refer to him as Puru Gupta, which would confuse the people and the administration, a thing which must have been far away from their mind, rather they would have liked to mention their glorious ancestor by the name (Skanda) which must have been loved by the people because of Skanda Gupta's grand victories over his enemies It may be further pointed out that the Ārya Mañjusri-mūla-kalpa, which says that Skanda (Sakāra) had many names, mentions the other name as Devarāja [7] If his name had been Puru Gupta which he is alleged

1 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff
2 E I XXVI pp 235ff
3 J A,S B LVIII pp 88ff, M A S I No 66 pp 64ff E I XXVI pp 235ff
4 C I I III No 14 (G E 136 138) pp 62ff, No 15 (G E 141) pp 66ff, No 16, (G E 146) pp 71ff, No 13 (of early years) pp 55ff
5 E I XV pp 39ff
6 C I I III, pp 29, Devaraja which Fleet took to be the name of the officer of Chandra Gupta II, is certainly anothername of Chandra Gupta II
7 I H I p 33

to have assumed after his victory over the Hūṇas, and in which name he issued coins and his successors issued seals, then the author of the Buddhist treatise should have mentioned Puru Gupta rather than Devarāja as the second name of Skanda Gupta.

Puru Gupta in all the seals of his successors is referred to as '*Pādānudhyātaḥ*' in relation to Kumāra Gupta. In the Bhitarī stone-pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta[1] this technical phrase is absent in the description of the relationship between Skanda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta. Fleet[2] read the name Skanda Gupta immediately after Kumāra Gupta in the Bihar stone-pillar inscription, and so it has been held that Skanda Gupta is referred to as '*Pādānudhyātaḥ*' in relation to Kumāra Gupta I. R. C. Majumdar[3] has recently challenged the reading and we have examined the facsimile and are convinced that there is no basis to read Skanda Gupta after Kumāra Gupta in the inscription.[4] Therefore on the basis of the Bihar stone-pillar incription to believe that both Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta are described as '*pādānudhyātaḥ*' in relation to Kumāra Gupta I and therefore they are identical, is delusive.

Arguments based on numismatic considerations to support the identification of Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta are not strictly relevant. The contemporaneity and similarity of the coins of Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta do not prove that they are the same person. Coins of Kācha are similar to those of Samudra Gupta with the similar legend '*Sarvarājochchhettā*' on the reverse,[5] and Allan[6] has attributed these coins to Samudra Gupta. But scholars[7] are not unanimous on the

1. C.I.I. III No. 13 pp. 55ff.
2. *Ibid* No. 12 pp. 49ff. and the plate.
3. I.C. X pp. 17 off.
4. See *infra*.
5. CCGDBM p. 15.
6. *Ibid* pp. LXXIV, CX.
7. Bannerji, R.D. Age of the Imperial Guptas p. 220 ; I.H.Q. XXII, p. 60, According to the Ārya-Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa, Samudra Gupta's younger brother "Bhasma will have government of Gauḍa for three days" (I.H.I. p. 48). He has been identified with Kācha (I H.Q. XXII p. 60). S.C. Sarkar J.B.O.R.S. XXVII pp. 252ff.) identifies Kās'a (of the Tibetan sources) with Kācha of the coins.

point, and the separate existence of Kacha is not beyond the realm of possibility. Naturally, therefore, it is not fair, relying on the alleged identification of Kacha with Samudra Gupta, to regard Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta as the same person issuing coins in different names. The hypothesis is mortally affected by the existence of a coin of Puru Gupta with a distinct *āditya* title 'Śrī Vikramah'.[1] Recently scholars have challenged the reading of 'Pura' on the coin by Allan. S. K. Chakravarty[2] reads the first letter below the arm on the obverse as 'Bu' and the second letter as 'Dha', and hence attributes the coin to Budha Gupta. Krishnadeva[3] echoes the same opinion. D. C. Sircar[4] thinks that "Chakravarty may be right in reading Budha." R. C. Majumdar[5] is disposed to agree with Chakravarty but observes that "the question cannot be finally decided till clear specimens of this type of coins are available." N. N. Das Gupta[6] points out that the second lettter is more like 'ra' than 'dha'. We have examined the coin which is now in the British Museum. The second letter in question cannot be 'Dha' as the semi circle of 'Dha' attached to the straight line is inward in the epigraphy of the period (D), but on the coin if there is any faint trace of the semi circle it is outward.[7] Mr. J. Allan very kindly re-examined the coin for me, and he was emphatically of the opinion that the letter cannot be 'Dha', and is certainly 'Ra'. The first letter because of its closed top[8] may be read as 'Bu', but 'Bura' can never be a proper name. Therefore the correct reading is as Allan read it, Pura. Examples of closed 'pa' are not rare in contemporary epigraphy. In the second line of the Nalanda seal of Viṣṇu Gupta there is a closed topped 'Pu'.[9]

1 CCGDBM pl XXI 23
2 I C I p 692
3 E I XXVI pt V pp 235ff
4 S I Vol I p 322 Note I
5 A New History of Indian People VI p 186 Note I
6 B C Law Volume I pp 617ff
7 Plate I No 6
8 *Ibid*
9 Plate 3c

just like 'Pu' on the coin Therefore we feel to be on surer grounds to read 'Pura' on the coin The engraving of the letters has been carelessly done, and it may be that the hook below 'Ra' to make it 'Ru' was wrongly or inadvertently added as a side stroke on the top of 'Ra' It may be further pointed out that the existence of Puru Gupta is probably not dependent upon a single coin R D Bannerji points out that "Rai Bahadur Jalan, the well known banker and coin collector of Patna, possessed two gold coins on which the name Pura is very distinct They were found in the Gaya district' [1] Thus it is clear that there was one Puru Gupta who had the title of Śri Vikramah or Vikramaditya and he issued coins It is true that on some silver coins[2] Skanda Gupta is described as Vikramaditya, but to our knowledge no gold coin of his has been discovered with this *aditya* title, while all the coins attributed by Allan to Puru Gupta have the reverse legend "Śri Vikramah' [3] It is quite safe to hold that the specific title of Skanda Gupta was Kramaditya, while that of Puru Gupta was Śri Vikramah (or Vikramaditya) There appears to be some force in Bannerji's contention that "in the coinage of the imperial Gupta dynasty there is not a single instance in which the two personal names of the same emperor have been used on his coinage ' [4] Candra Gupta II had the second name Deva[5] or Devaraja,[6] but "this name has never been used on the coinage of this king "[7] On a critical examination of the numismatic evidence it is clear that Puru Gupta and

1 A B O R I pp 67ff Altekar informs us that the coins are not available in the present collection of the Rai Bahadur

2 CCGDBM p 120

3 *Ibid* p 134 (Recently two gold coins of Budha Gupta are described in JNSI XII pt II pp 110ff and it is held that the coins that are attributed to Pura Gupta Vikramaditya in Allan s Catalogue belong really to Budha Gupta with the title *Ś vikramah* The suggestion deserves serious consideration But the existence of Pura Gupta is not dependent on only these coins but on inscriptions as well Moreover coins attributed to Pura Gupta by Allan may or may not belong to Budha Gupta The legends are indistinct

4 A B O R I I pp 67ff

5 E I XV *p 41*

6 C.I I III p 29

7 Age of the Imperial Guptas p 220

Skanda Gupta were two kings, who issued gold coins with their distinctive names and *aditya* titles

Takakusu's identification of Paramartha's Vikramaditya of Ayodhya, the patron of Vasubandhu, with Skand Gupta[1] is not above criticism The date of Vasubandhu is still a matter of controversy,[2] and so is the identification of his Vikramaditya Smith[3] identified him with Samudra Gupta, Pathak[4] with Kumara Gupta I, Bhandarkar[5] and Saletore[6] with Chandra Gupta II Vikramâditya Allan[7] rightly identified this Vikramaditya with Puru Gupta who was the father of Baladitya (Narasimha Gupta), and who issued coins with the legend 'Sri Vikramah'. *Therefore we have to reject the identi* fication proposed by Takakusu, and with it goes the suggestion, apparently based on it, that Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are identical The identification when proposed by Hoernle puzzled him himself and he was at a loss 'how to account for the two names of the same person' [8] Earlier he had rightly pointed out that 'it seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names [9] All this dis cussion leads to the inevitable rejection of the theory of the identity of Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta they were different persons

The theory of N K Bhattasali

N K Bhattasali[10] after rejecting the theory of the parti tion of the empire between the two rival families of Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta, hazarded a theory still more impro bable According to him Skanda Gupta was succeeded by

1 J R A S 1905 pp 33ff
2 Takakusu (*Ib d*) put it between 420 500 A D, Smith took it to be the 4th Century A D (E H I pp 346 47)
3 E H I pp 346 47
4 J B B R A S XXXIII pp 185ff
5 I A XLI pp 1ff
6 Life in the Gupta Age pp 27 29
7 CCGDBM pp L Li
8 J R A S 1909 p 129
9 J A S B *LVIII* p 93
10 E I XVIII pp 81ff

Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnath inscription, followed by Budha Gupta in about 476 A D The next king was Bhānu Gupta who came to the throne in about 495 A D , and fought Mihirakula and died with Goparāja of the Eran inscription of the year 191. Bhānu Gupta was followed by Puru Gupta, who was a child of four or five when his father Kumara Gupta died, and Puru Gupta must have been very old when he succeeded Bhānu Gupta, and so he must have died soon after his accession and was followed by Narasimha Gupta in about 515 A D This theorty is beset with serious and obvious objections and it is hardly possibla for any one to presume with the learned scholar that 'Puru Gupta patiently waited for a chance to ascend the throne, not available till fifty years after the death of his father at the best computation, in the meanwhile watching the successive reigns of at least four kings Skanda, Kumara, Budha and Bhānu'

Kaliyugarajavritanta and the history of the Guptas

Some scholars have recently tried to reconstruct the dynastic history of the imperial Guptas on the basis of the Kaliyugarājavṛitanta, said to belong to the Bhavisyottara Purāna It is alleged to contain verses which tell us the history of the Gupta period The verses were first introduced to the learned world by Mr T S Narayana Sastri, and Mr. Krishamachariar incorporated them in his Classical Sanskrit Literature B. Bhattacharya[1] gave an English translation of some of the important extracts According to this work, the Guptas belonged to a Parvatiya caste, and Chandra Gupta served under an Āndhra king of Magadha Chandra Gupta married Kumāradevi, the daughter of the king of Nepal, and also a Lichchhavī girl, sister of the queen of Chandra Śri, the Āndhra king Chandra Gupta murdered Chandra Śrī and became a regent for the son of Chandra Śri, but the prince was also murdered, and Chandra Gupta became the king of Magadha and associated his son

1 J.B R S. XXX pp 1ff.

Kācha in the government Samudra Gupta, a son by Kumāradevi, killed Chandra Gupta and came to be known as Aśokāditya He was succeeded by Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya who ruled for 36 years, and was followed by Kumara Gupta Mahendrāditya He was succeeded by Skanda Gupta Parākramāditya, who humbled the pride of the Hunas and destroyed Puṣyasena He was followed by Narasimha Gupta Balāditya, the nephew of Skanda Gupta, who appointed him king while he was himself alive Narasimha Gupta was the son of Sthira Gupta Prakaśāditya and ruled for 40 years Kumāra Gupta Kramāditya followed him, and won victories against the Hunas and Īśānavarman

The account is on many important points at variance with the known history of the Guptas The Āndhra rule over Magadha could have hardly existed down to the 4th century A D The story of the murder of Chandra Gupta by Samudra Gupta is clearly opposed to contemporary epigraphps from which we learn that Samudra Gupta was a favourite son of Chandra Gupta. The title 'Aśokāditya' for Samudra Gupta is unknown from coins and inscriptions There is no other evidence to suggest that Skanda Gupta abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew Narasimha Gupta Balāditya There is no other authority to make the Guptas belong to a Pārvatiya dynasty.

There has been a lively discussion among the learned scholars on the authenticity of these verses The account is in many respects full of so many imponderables that it at once excites suspicion The mention of Sthira Gupta Prakaśaditya as father of Narasimha Gupta Baladitya clearly shows that the writer was aware of the discovery of the Bhitari seal in which Buhler and Smith first read Sthira for Puru, and the coins of Prakas'aditya were attributed to him The mention of Kumara Gupta and Īśanavarman reminds us of the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena The work therefore appears to be a late forgery, sometime in the last decade of the 19th century Scholars like R C Majumdar[1] D C

1. I H Q XX pp 345ff.

Sircar,[1] Jagannath[2] and D R Mankad[3], after thoroughly discussing the verses in question and their source, have come to the conclusion that they are forged and unreliable Therefore no serious consideration could be given to the opinion of Budha Prakaśa, who, relying on the Kaliyugarājavṛitanta observed that "Skanda Gupta gave his brother Puru Gupta some territory in eastern Bihar to govern and by reason of brotherly feeling allowed him the right to issue coins and assume imperial titles"[4] The situation imagined is very unlikely in any ruling dynasty and, now when the very foundations of the hypothesis have been shown to be unreal, the theory should be outright rejected. The discovery of the Nalanda seal[5] of Budha Gupta necessitates the placing of Budha Gupta in the dynasty of the imperial Guptas

The order of succession proposed by Panna Lal and others

Finally, we have to examine the theory—holding the field to day—that Kumara Gupta I was immediately succeeded by Skanda Gupta and he was followed, in turn, by Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal[6] Panna Lal[7] on the authority of the correct reading of the date on a silver coin held that Skanda Gupta's reign ended in 467 A D , and he was succeeded by Puru Gupta (467 469), followed by Narasimha Gupta (469 73), Kumara Gupta II (473 77 A D identified with the Kumara Gupta of the Sarnath inscriptions[8]), and Budha Gupta He also placed Prakaśaditya, Dvadaśaditya and Ghatotkacha between Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta Majumdar also appears to have independently come to the same conclusion about the chronology and the order of succession after Kumara Gupta I.[9]

1 JNSI VI p 31
2 J B R.S XXXI pp 28ff
3 *Ibid* XXXII pp 319ff
4. A.B O R I XXVII pp 124ff
5 M.A S I No 66 p 64
6 J A S B LVIII pp 84ff
7 H R Jan 1918 pp 1 ff
8 A.S I.A R. 1914 15 pp 241ff
9 J A S B XVII (N S) pp 249ff , I A XLVII pp 161ff

Hoernle's earlier view that "the probability is that Pura(?) Gupta is a younger brother of Skanda Gupta, and succeeded the latter who died without an issue,"[1] is supported by Smith, according to whom the best solution of the difficulty is "to assume that Skanda Gupta by reason of being childless is omitted from the genealogy of the Bhitari seal and that he was succeeded by his brother Pura(?) Gupta."[2] Later on he[3] wholly accepted the order of succession proposed by Panna Lal and Majumdar Allan[4] also subscribes to the view that Skanda Gupta "left no heir and was succeeded by his brother Pura(?) Gupta" H C Raychaudhuri[5] is a strong champion of this theory, and B C Sen[6] appears to be sure that "amidst this array of rather intricate speculations Panna Lal's suggestion that Pura(?) Gupta's line immediately succeeded Skanda Gupta seems to be in most accord with the available materials in regard to Kumāra Gupta's successors" R D. Bannerji[7] is in general agreement with this theory with the slight modification that "during the third Hūna war(?) Pura(?) Gupta had set himself up as a rival emperor in Magadha and thus became the cause of Skanda Gupta's defeat and death" R. N Dandekar[8] also subscribes to the view of Panna Lal and others.

The theory, though supported by eminent indologists, cannot stand in view of recent additions to our knowledge and also the inherent contradiction involved in the acceptance of the theory The most serious objection against this theory is that between A D 467, the last years of Skanda Gupta, and A D 475-76, the first known year of Budha Gupta, we are asked by the learned scholars to place the reigns of the three kings of three generations—Puru Gupta, Narasimha

1 J.A.S B LVIII p 93
2 I.A. XXX pp 25-9ff
3 E H I (4th edn) p 329.
4 CCGDBM p. XLIX
5 P.H.A I (3rd edn.) pp 394-96
6 Sen. op at p 222
7 Banerji R D op cit p 52
8 R.N Dandekar—A History of the Guptas pp 128-130.

Gupta and Kumara Gupta of the Sarnāth inscription and the Bhitarī seal The situation imagined is certainly abnormal but Raychaudhuri asserts that it is by no means unique in ancient Indian dynasties He points out that three Eastern Chalukya kings ruled for 8 years, and six Kashmir kings for 6 years[1] The analogy may not be absolutely relevant The examples cited are from small and local kingdoms, but it is difficult to explain the continued existence of the fairly extensive Gupta empire down to Budha Gupta if change of succession was so rapid. Moreover the learned scholar has given *no explanation to justify such short reigns in the Gupta history* famous for its long reigns. The Nalanda seal of Viṣnu Gupta[2] will add another reign to the brief period The seal makes Viṣnu Gupta son and successor of Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal[3] Naturally, therefore, the degree of probability in the correctness of the hypothesis is further lessened N N Das Gupta[4] tries to stretch the period by a few years by assuming that Budha Gupta might have come to the throne later than the year 157 G E (476 A D) as he is mentioned as 'Maharāja' only in the Sarnāth inscripion,[5] and so he was then a mere governor, and might have ascended the throne as a *paramount ruler before* 163 G E as in the Damodarpur copper plate inscription[6] he is given paramount titles This modification hardly adds more than five years to the period alleged to be covered by Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta and Viṣnu Gupta This does not improve the situation Moreover the mention of the title 'Maharaja' for Budha Gupta in the Sarnath inscription does not warrant the assumption that he was then not the imperial ruler The phrase "when the earth was being ruled by Budha Gupta" certainly suggests that he was already a

1 P H A.I (3rd edn.) p 477
2 E.I XXVI pl V pp 235ff
3 J A S B LVIII pp 84ff
4 B C. Law Volume I pp 617ff
5 A S I.A R. 1914 15 pp 124ff
6 E I XV p 114

king. In the Mankunwar stone-image inscription dated in G E 129 Kumāra Gupta I is referred to as mere 'Mahārāja', and this led Fleet to suspect that the use of the feudatory title 'Maharaja' may point to a reduction in the status of Kumara Gupta I[1] But the suspicion was unwarranted as in the second Damodarpur copper plate dated in the year 128[2] or 129,[3] Kumara Gupta is referred to by full imperial titles The imperial Pratihara rulers Bhoja and Mahendrapala are referred to by the epithet 'Maharaja' in the Dighwa-Dubauli plate[4] Moreover in the Eran stone inscription[5] dated in G E 165, Budha Gupta is given no imperial title at all, while in the third Damodarpur copper plate dated in G E 163[6] he is referred to with full imperial titles Therefore, there is no ground for assuming that Budha Gupta was not on the throne in the current Gupta year 157, (*Samatikkrānta*), the date of the Sarnath inscription[7] An attempt to escape from the difficulty inherent in the acceptance of the pet theory is to assume[8] that Visnu Gupta did not precede but he rather followed Budha Gupta, who succeeded Kumāra Gupta II, the father of Visnu Gupta There is no reason to presume a break in the line Therefore, if one has to persist in the truth of the theory then he should place Puru Gupta, his son Narasimha Gupta, his son Kumara Gupta and the latter's son Visnu Gupta in the short period, (467 475 76 A D), and, then, we are asked to place Dvadaśaditya, Prakas'aditya and Ghatotkacha Gupta[9] in this too brief a period

In view of the lack of any positive evidence, it is not safe to assume a theory which cramps four kings (and probably more) of four generations within 8 or 9 years The order of

1 C I I III p 46
2 E I XV p 114
3 *Ibid* XVIII p 193
4 I A XV pp 105ff
5 C. I I III pp 90ff
6 E I XV p 114
7 A. S I A R 1914 15 p 122
8 B C Law Volume I pp 617ff I H Q XX p 119 ff
9 H R Jan 1918 pp 1ff

succession proposed by learned scholars is vitally affected by the recent discovery of the Nālandā seals, and R. C. Majumdar, one of the pioneers of the theory, is in a revisionist's mood. Any further persistence in the theory leads to serious incongruities even on the assumption of the most favourable computations Kumāra Gupta I, who ruled for more than forty years, must have died at an old age, say about seventy, in 455 A.D.. His son Puru Gupta could have been born by *Cir.* 410 A.D., when Kumāra Gupta would have been twenty-five years old. Therefore if Puru Gupta succeeded Skanda Gupta in 467 A.D., as held by scholars, then he (Puru Gupta) was 57 years old; Narasimha Gupta could have been 34 years old in 469 A.D, when he is regarded as having come to the throne; his son Kumāra Gupta II could not have been more than a boy of thirteen years old in 473 A.D., when he came to the throne, (assuming that a son was born at the age of twenty-five in both cases) and we are to place the reign of Viṣṇu Gupta, his son, before 476 A.D., the first known year of Budha Gupta's reign : certainly a boy of thirteen (Kumāra Gupta) could not leave a son to succeed him. It may be pointed out that this calculation is over generous and given even most favourable dates exposes the physical impossibility of the theory. R. D. Bannerji[1] who accepted the theory, under discussion, was constrained to observe that "Kumāra Gupta II must have been an infant in arms when he was placed on the throne," and "there is no evidence in favour of the existence of a third Kumāra Gupta in addition to the sons of Chandra Gupta II and Narasimha Gupta"[2] But now as Viṣṇu Gupta is to be placed after Kumāra Gupta, it is certainly absurd to imagine 'an infant in arms' leaving a son to succeed him 'after two years.' A. Ghosh[3] who has recently reasserted the pet theory confesses that "this is indeed a remarkable historical phenomenon," and to avoid the difficulty

1. Bannerji *op. ci.* p. 54.
2. *Ibid* p. 56.
3. I. H. Q. XX pp. 119ff.

he suggests that "it is more likely that Visnu Gupta followed and not preceded Budha Gupta" But this is hardly acceptable The coins of Visnu Gupta closely follow the weight, style, and the quality of the gold of the coins of Kumāra Gupta III. It *is more reasonable to hold, unless there is some positive* evidence to the contrary, that Visnu Gupta succeeded his father Kumāra Gupta, rather than his grand-uncle Budha Gupta, the son of Puru Gupta A. Bannerji hazards an equally improbable suggestion, unsupported by any shred of evidence, *to explain away the contradiction involved in the* assumption of the theory proposed by Panna Lal Bannerji[1] conjectures that Puru Gupta died like Azim-us shan and was succeeded by Narasimha Gupta, who himself probably died for an ambitious brother in the person of Budha Gupta, while his adherents declared his son emperor, who is no other than Kumara Gupta of the Sarnāth inscription and seals The analogy from the Mughal history has been carried too far, and the suggestion is simply gratuitous Another defect in the theory is *that even if one does place somehow by arithmetical* jugglery four generations of rulers within 8 or 9 years, the whole scheme of chronology is highly inelastic It is possible that Skanda Gupta may have continued to rule a couple of years after 467 A.D, the last *known* date on one of his silver coins Similarly the current Gupta years 154 and 157 may not have been the years of accession of Kumara Gupta and Budha Gupta respectively. Any allowance of slightest elasticity in the chronology adopted by Panna Lal and his school of thought throws the whole thesis to the winds

Thus we find that the theory so dearly held by scholars is clearly untenable. The fundamental error was the identification of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription with Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal Bannerji held that "there is no evidence in favour of the existence of a third Kumāra

1 J U P H S XVII pt II pp 35ff

Gupta".[1] A. Ghosh[2] held that "the numismatic evidence supports the theory of Panna Lal in identifying Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription with that of Bhitarī seal as the Gupta series of coins makes us acquainted only with two Kumāra Guptas". But we have shown[3] that the numismatic evidence proves just the reverse, and it is clear that there were two Kumāra Guptas, besides Kumāra Gupta I, and both of them issued coins.

Who followed Kumāra Gupta I, Puru Gupta or Skanda Gupta ?

We have shown that the order of succession after Kumāra Gupta I, so long held by scholars, is not correct. But the problem that is to be discussed is whether Kumāra Gupta I was immediately followed by Puru Gupta or Skanda Gupta. As we have already rejected the hypothesis that the empire was divided between Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta, it is clear that one of them must have become king earlier than the other. Scholars have generally assumed Skanda Gupta to be the immediate successor, and that there was a peaceful succession by Skanda Gupta after the death of Kumāra Gupta. But the theory of peaceful succession does not stand against the contemporary epigraphic evidence. The statement in the Jūnāgaḍh rock-inscription that "the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected (Skanda) as her husband..having discarded all (the other) sons of the king as not coming up to her standard,"[4] must be given its due significance; and it certainly suggests some extraordinary situation in which Skanda Gupta came to the throne. Raychaudhuri[5] mentions that Prabhākaravardhana, shortly before his death "referred to Harṣa as *Svayameva śriyāgṛhīta*'" "though Harsa's devotion to his elder brother is well known."

1. Bannerji *op cit* p. 56.
2. I. H. Q. XX p. 121.
3. See *infra*.
4. C. I. I. III, No 14 pp. 62ff.
5. P. H. A. I. (4th Edn) p. 485.

But this example does not cut much ice. Prabhākaravardhana was trying to persuade Harṣa much against the latter's will to ascend the throne when Rājyavardhana was away, and therefore to strengthen his point he called Harṣa as 'accepted by the goddess of Prosperity herself', and not only by his dying father. So the phrase is not a statement of fact but an expression of a wish of a man on the death-bed with pent up emotions crying to his dearest son by his bedside that "Upon you, my happiness, my sovereignty, my succession, and my life are set, and as mine as those of all my people. .you wear marks declaring the sovereignty of the four oceans, one and all, to be almost in your grasp."[1] Thus the two situations in which almost the identical expressions have been used were entirely different, and, then, the reference to the discarding 'of all the other sons of the king as not coming up to her standard' is not to be lightly brushed aside. It has been further urged that the passage in the Jūnāgaḍh inscription is a mere poetical eulogy and means as much or as little as the passage in the Allahabad pillar-inscription of Samudra Gupta which describes his selection by Chandra Gupta I 'being looked at (with envy) by the faces, melancholy (through the rejection of themselves) of others of equal birth'.[2] On the analogy of Samudra Gupta being selected by his father as the best among his sons, Raychaudhuri[3] holds that the passage in the Jūnāgadh inscription means that Skanda Gupta was selected by Kumāra Gupta I as Samudra Gupta by Chandra Gupta I and Chandra Gupta II by Samudra Gupta. The analogy may not be true, but at the same time it may be pointed out that the accession of Samudra Gupta might not have been as peaceful as held by the learned scholar, and it is now generally accepted that Rāma Gupta intervened between Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II.

1. H. C. (CT) p. 142.
2. C. I. I. III, No. I p. 14.
3. P. H. A. I. (3rd Edn) p. 387.

It is to be borne in mind that Chandra Gupta II, who was selected among others by Samudra Gupta to succeed him is referred to as '*tatparigrihita*' in the inscriptions[1] Skanda Gupta is never mentioned as such in relation to his father Kumara Gupta I The Bhitari pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta[2] is the only definitely official inscription inscribed in his name, and it is significant to note that while in that very inscription Chandra Gupta II is mentioned as '*tatparigrihita*', no such phrase is mentioned to describe the relationship of Skanda Gupta with Kumara Gupta I The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Skanda Gupta did not claim to be specially selected by his father to succeed him

The phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*' used in the Gupta inscriptions should be given more weight than it has received The phrase occurs in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skanda Gupta to describe the relationship between Kumara Gupta and his father Chandra Gupta II, but its ommission in the case of Skanda Gupta in relation to his father Kumara Gupta I[3] is more than significant It is really apt to point out that instead of that usual, rather conventional phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*' we have in the inscription[4] '*Śrih pi tri)pa (r) igatapada padma vartti prathita yasah*'—' who (Skanda) subsisted (like a bee) on the wide spreading water lilies which were the feet of his father This round about way of expressing the same idea should not be explained as a poet s fancy it is rather a deliberate non use of the conventional phrase to describe an uncommon situation We suggest that the phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*' was a technical expression to denote a legal or legitimate right to the throne, and because Skanda Gupta had no such right, the phrase though used in the case of Kumara Gupta I is scrupulously avoided in the case of Skanda Gupta in his own inscription[5]

1 C I I III Nos 4 12 13
2 C I I III No 13 p 53 l ne 4
3 C I I III No 13 p 53 lines 6-7 trans pp 54 55
4 *Ibid*
5 *Ibid*

It may be pointed out that according to Fleet the phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*', to describe the relationship between Skanda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta, occurs in Bihar stone pillar-inscription. Fleet's readings and restoration of the illegible part of the inscription[1] were indisputably accepted by scholars But recently R. C Majumdar[2] has challenged the reading and he suggests modifications in the restoration by Fleet We have ourselves pursued the matter and are convinced that Majumdar, if not wholly, is substantially correct The lithograph of the inscription given by Fleet is very much blurred He admits that much has been lost between the time when Cunningham and R L Mitra published their lithographs and he his own In the line 23 of Fleet's plate '*gupta* is very clear, but *before the letter 'gu' there are signs of two letters and Fleet* restores the reading as 'Skanda' [3] Evidently he was led away by Cunningham[4], who was convinced that the inscription belonged to Skanda Gupta as the remaining part of the upper part is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription When Fleet edited his monumental work there was no doubt at all that Kumara Gupta was succeeded by Skanda Gupta, and no other son of Kumāra Gupta was known at all Therefore, Fleet unhesitatingly restored the next name of the king after Kumara Gupta as Skanda Gupta The lithograph given by Cunningham does not help us much as the letters before 'gu' in the line in dispute are completely blurred But the lithograph published by R L Mitra[5] is really very revealing Here the letter before 'gu' is clearly 'ru' and the letter preceding 'ru' is clearly long 'pū', which Mitra wrongly read as 'pta' It is very easy to confuse between 'pū' and 'pta' in contemporary epigraphy The lithograph given by Dr Mitra should be reliable According to Mitra, "Major Holings got a baked clay impression of the inscription . . an

1 C I I III, No 12 pp 50ff and the plate
2 I C. X pp 170ff
3 C. I I III No 12, pp 50ff and the plate
4 C. A S R I pp 37 38 and the plate
5 J A S B XXXV pp 270ff, and the plate

ink impression of the inscription was subsequently communicated to me, *but it contained nothing new that was not* decipherable on the clay facsimile ; the accompanying plate is a reduced facsimile of the clay impression and *every letter* on it has been *carefully* compared with those on the ink tracing."[1] Fleet's lithograph is in a worse condition naturally because in course of time the inscription was more worn out exposed to vagaries of nature. But even here the reading suggested by Fleet is not correct. In the beginning of the remaining line 23 of the plate, the letter before 'gu' of the 'Gupta' is clearly 'ru'. The straight line of 'ra' and the hook below of the medial 'u' sign is as clear as it could be.[2] It is exactly similar *to 'ru' in line 12 of the plate of the Kahaum pillar inscrip*tion of Skanda Gupta,[3] and in the Indore inscription[4] of the same ruler. The letter preceding 'ru' is almost absolutely blurred in Fleet's lithograph but the faint extant sign, which Fleet restored as 'ska', more properly appears to be the sign of medial long 'ū', and the complete letter must have been 'Pū', and so the correct reading of the name in line 23 of the inscription[5] is Puru Gupta. In line II of the inscription Fleet reads '*skandaguptabata*' ; '*guptabaṭa*' is absolutely clear, but the letter before 'gu' is not very clear, and with the elongated loop it is more like 'ndra', of Chandra Gupta in the same inscription, than 'nda'. That the disputed letter is 'ndra' not 'nda' is clear from the lithograph given by Cunningham.[6] Therefore, the village is not Skandaguptabaṭa ; it may be Chandraguptabaṭa or Indraguptabata or anything having 'ndra' as the second letter. Therefore it should now be taken as established that the Bihar stone-pillar inscription does not belong to Skanda Gupta and it does not contain his name. Thus it is evident that it is incorrect, relying on this

1. J. A. S. B. XXXV, p. 270.
2. C. I. I. III, *No. 12* p. *50, and the plate.*
3. *Ibid*, pl IXa.
4. *Ibid*, Pl. IXb.
5. C. I. I. III No. 12 p. 50 and the plate.
6. C. A. S. R. I. the plate facing p. 37.

inscription to assert that Skanda Gupta is described as '*padānudhyatah*' in relation to Kumara Gupta I, as Puru Gupta is certainly described in the seals, and in the Bihar stone pillar inscription R. C Majumdar[1] also suggested that the genealogy was continued after Puru Gupta, because the mention of '*Paramabhagavata*' in the last part of the line 24, shows that the king whose name is missing in line 25 cannot be the same person[2] who is mentioned in line 23, as Fleet held Really, it is very unusual to describe the issuer of the grant with all due titles which have been already referred to earlier in the description of the genealogy The missing portion is just sufficient to fill in the usual form of the inscription continuing the genealogy one stage further If it is true, as it is very likely, then the Bihar stone pillar inscription was issued by Narasimha Gupta, the son of Puru Gupta or by Budha Gupta, who is also another son of Puru Gupta [3] At any rate it was not issued by Skanda Gupta, and may belong to Puru Gupta or Narasimha Gupta or Budha Gupta Therefore we find that the phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*', described to illustrate natural and legitimate successions is significantly absent from all inscriptions which give the genealogical table of the Guptas and refer to the relationship between Skanda Gupta and Kumara Gupta From the Bhitarī pillar-inscription[4] we know that Skanda Gupta was a son of Kumara Gupta But from the deliberate omission of the phrase '*tatpadanudhyatah*' in the same inscription to express the relationship between Skanda Gupta and Kumara Gupta, when that very phrase *is used* about Kumāra Gupta in relation to Chandra Gupta II, we infer that Skanda Gupta was not a legitimate *or natural successor of Kumara Gupta as the latter was of* Chandra Gupta II Naturally therefore, the accession of

1 I C. X pp 170ff
2 C I I III No 12 pp 50ff Fleet took the name to be Skanda Gupta *in both the lines 23 and 25*
3 M A S I No 66 p 64
4 C I I III No 13 pp 53ff

Skanda Gupta must have followed some abnormal situation and dynastic troubles

The inference is further strengthened by another significant omission in the inscription of Skanda Gupta We have no inscription in which the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta as the queen of Kumāra Gupta is given This is quite out of tune with the other Gupta inscriptions giving the genealogy of the rulers The mothers of the kings are mentioned together with the respective fathers Mahādevi Kumaradevi, mother of Samudra Gupta, is mentioned in his Allahabad pillar inscription,[1] Mahādevi Dattadevi, mother of Chandra Gupta II, is mentioned in his Mathura pillar inscription,[2] Mahadevi Dhruvadevi, the mother of Kumāra Gupta I, is mentioned in his Bilsad stone pillar-inscription,[3] Mahadevi Anantadevi must have been mentioned in the Bihar stone-pillar inscription[4] The Bhitari[5] and Nalandā seals[6] of Kumara Gupta III mention his mother Mahādevi Sri Mitradevi, the Nalandā seal of Budha Gupta[7] must have mentioned the name of his mother, as the legend '*Mahādevyām-utpannah*' is present but the name is lost, which must have been Chandradevi, the Nālanda seal of Visnu Gupta[8] also contained the name of his mother, though the name is lost Even the seal of Maharāja Govinda Gupta[9] mentions the name of his mother, Mahādevi Dhruvadevi, and the Nalanda seal of Vainya Gupta[10] contained the name of his mother, though the name is lost in the extant inscription It may also be pointed out that when the complete genealogy of many generations is given in the inscriptions or seals, with the men-

1 C I I III No I pp 15 16
2 E I XXI pp 1ff
3 C I I III No 10 pp 72ff
4 *Ibid*, No 12 pp 50 ff and see *supra*
5 J A S B LVIII pp 88ff The name was wrongly read as Śrī Maha laksmidevi or Śrīmat devi
6 M A S I No 66 p 66
7 *Ibid* p 64
8 E I XXVI pp 233f
9 A S I A R 1903 4 p 107
10 M A S I No 66, p 67

tion of the name of deceased father the name of the queen-mother is also given. All this leads to the inevitable conclusion that as a general rule and normal procedure, which had almost a constitutional significance in all official seals and inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty purporting to give genealogy of the rulers, the names of the queen mothers were mentioned It is certainly remarkably significant that the Bhitari pillar-inscription of Skanda Gupta[1] himself mentions the names of Mahadevi Dattadevī and Mahādevi Dhruvadevi, the mothers of Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I respectively, but the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta, the author of the inscription is omitted, and this omission cannot but be deliberate and conscious. Raychaudhuri[2] cites instances from the Vakataka and Harsa's records to suggest that the omission of the name of the mother of Skanda Gupta does not have any special significance, and he mentions the case of Kuberanāga who, though not the chief queen (Mahādevi), was mentioned in her daughter's inscriptions,[3] while the name of Mahādevi Yaśomati as the mother of Harsa is not mentioned in the Banskhera[4] and Madhuban[5] plates, she is mentioned in the Sonpat seal[6] of Harsa. The learned scholar[7] mentions a number of inscriptions of the Pala period in which sometimes the names of Mahādevi s are mentioned and sometimes not. The analogy is not relevant as the instances are picked out of non-Gupta records and they belong to much later time when the tradition may have lost some of its binding force As for the mention of Kuberanāga in the Vakāṭaka records, it may be pointed out while the Gupta records refer to the queen-mothers or chief queens (Mahādevi), the Vakātaka records are silent on this point except when they refer

1, C I I III No 13 pp 55ff
2 P H.A.I (3rd Edn) p 387
3 J A S B XX (N S) p 53, J B O R S XIV p 645, E I XV. pp 39ff
4 E I IV pp 208ff
5 E. I I pp 73ff
6 C. I I III, No 52 p 232
7 P. H A. I (4th Edn.) p 483

to Prabhāvatiguptī, daughter of Chandra Gupta II It is interesting to note that in her inscription, instead of giving the genealogy of her husband's family, she traces her own genealogy from her father's side upwards to 'Gupta'. *It is* clear that she was very proud of her close relationship with the Gupta family through her *mother* Kuberanāga, *who* was *not* the Mahādevī of Chandra Gupta II and so is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions, *but* she *is mentioned in* her *daughter's* inscription just to trace her own proud parentage, possible only through her mother, Kuberanāga *The mention of a non-Mahādevī*, though a Gupta-queen, in a non Gupta inscription of her own daughter, *naturally partial to her, does not* at all *weaken our* contention that the legitimate Mahādevīs are as a constitutional *convention or practice* always *mentioned in the official* Gupta records About Yaśomati it may be pointed out that in the Madhuban *copper plate of Harṣa she is mentioned* as the mother of Rājyavardhana, and as she was the mother of Harṣa as well, her *name may not* have been *mentioned to* avoid repetition Therefore, we conclude that the scrupulous care to omit the name of Skanda Gupta's mother as the Mahādevi of Kumāra Gupta I proves that she *was not* the Mahādevi of Kumāra Gupta, and hence her son Skanda Gupta was *not* a legitimate heir to the throne

Thus, we can safely conclude that, though Skanda Gupta was the son of Kumāra Gupta I[1], he was born, *not of the* Mahādevi of Kumāra Gupta, but of his secondary wife, and, naturally, so he was *not* the *legitimate heir to the throne in preference* to the son or sons of Kumāra Gupta by his Mahādevī. It is because of the absence of the legal claim for the succession to the throne that he is never referred to as *'Pādānudhyātaḥ'* in relation to Kumāra Gupta[2] The mother of

1 C I I III No 13 p 55

2 CCGDBM p 87, No 257 That Kumāra Gupta had more than one wife may be suggested by a special type of his coins There is a coin in the British Museum Catalogue of the Gupta Coins, which has on the obverse a male figure with probably two female figures on left and right, and on the either side of

Puru Gupta was Mahādevī Anantadevī,[1] the mother of Skanda Gupta might have had the name of Devakī.[2] Puru Gupta is uniformly referred to in the inscriptions[3] as the son of Mahādevī Anantadevī, and meditating on the feet of his father Kumāra Gupta. It has been shown that Puru Gupta was on the imperial throne and he issued coins It is therefore, obvious that as compared to Skanda Gupta he was a stronger claimant to the throne, being the son of Kumāra Gupta and Mahādevī Anantadevī It is hence, natural to presume that he must have come to the throne immediately

the central figure is the legend '*Kumāra Gupah*', on the reverse is the seated Lakṣmī with the legend, which Allan read as '*Śrī Pratāpaḥ*' (CC GDBM p 87 No 257) Recently another coin of the same type has been acquired by the British Museum, and the legend on the reverse may be read '*Śrī Praṇayaḥ*' (Plate I, No II) On the other coin also there is '*Praṇayaḥ*' On this coin the letter after 'pra' is certainly 'na' and not 'ta', and the third letter is 'ya' with the middle stroke of the tripartite 'ya' slightly blurred, and so looks like 'pa' and Allan read it as 'Pratāpa'. Mr Allan re-examined the coin and agreed with our suggestion that the legend appears to be '*Śrī Praṇayaḥ*', not 'Śrī Pratāpaḥ'. (Plate I, No I) Praṇaya means 'espousing selling (as in marriage), and it certainly suggests 'love, affection, attachment or likeness.' *The coins, therefore, may suggest that* on the obverse are the two queens of Kumāra Gupta with the king in the centre, and the reverse legend 'Praṇayaḥ' demonstrates Kumāra Gupta's equal love and affection to his two queens It may be reasonably assumed that the āditya title of *Mahendrāditya* or '*Simhamahendraḥ*' or other synonyms must have been assumed some times after Kumāra Gupta came on the throne, possibly after the performance of the horse-sacrifice Therefore, the Pranaya type of the coins were probably the earliest issues of the reign of Kumāra Gupta. The foreign influence on the coins noticed by Allan also suggests an early period The obverse of the coins may be constructed to suggest the competitive *spirit of the co wives,* which was later on reflected in the rivalry of their sons. This revised reading of this type of coins was proposed by us before we came across another reading of the coins According to Dr Altekar the legend on the reverse is *Apratighah,* and on the obverse is the male figure in non regal dress in the centre with another male figure on the right bearing an eagle standard, and on the left is a female figure, probably the queen, in a remonstrating mood The obverse scene is not easily explicable (JNSI X Pt II pp 115 ff.) This reading '*Apratighah*' has been generally accepted by scholars Our suggestion was an earlier, rather the first attempt at revising the reading on this type of coins, and has been put here for what it is worth.

1 J. A S B LVIII pp 84ff, M A S I, No 66 pp 64ff
2 C I I III, No 13 pp 55 ff If the story of Vikramāditya in Somadeva's Kathāsaritasagara (Tawney, IX. pp 1ff) refers to Skanda Gupta, then his mother's name may have been Saumyadarśanā
3 J A S B LVIII pp 88 ff, M A S I No 66 pp 64ff

ter the death of Kumāra Gupta but was soon after pushed ide by his abler step brother Skanda Gupta.

Internal dissension in the family after Kumāra Gupta I·

The succession of Skanda Gupta within hardly a year after e death of Kumāra Gupta, therefore, certainly suggests some oubles in the family which ultimately ended in triumph for kanda Gupta This suspicion is remarkably confirmed by e internal evidence of the inscriptions The words "*vyapētya irvvānmanujendra putrāmllaksmihs vayam yam iarayam chakara*" occuring in the Junagadh inscription[1] suggest that Skanda Gupta on the Goddess of Fortune against other royal princes. The hitarī pillar inscription also contains veiled allusions to Skanda upta's victory over other royal princes of the family, besides e enemies like the Pusyamitras and the Hūnas It is said about im, "Who (Skanda Gupta) when his father had attained the ies conquered his enemies by the strength of his (arms) and stablished again the ruined fortunes of his lineage , and then ying that victory has been achieved he took himself to (his other) whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Krisna hen he had slain (his) enemies betook himself to (his mother) Devakī," and, "who with his own arms established (again), his) lineage that had been made to totter and with his wo arms subjugated the earth "[2] Raychaudhuri[3] believes that he enemies, referred to in the Bhitarī pillar inscription, "were he enemies of the Gupta family not belonging to the Gupta ineage." It is quite comprehensible that the enemies like the Puṣyamitras and the Hūnas made the lineage of Skanda Gupta totter , but what is submitted here is that besides these enemies he had also to deal with the members of his own family The Junāgadh inscription,[4] which certainly belongs to the early years of the reign of Skanda Gupta, clearly states that the goddess Laksmī selected Skanda Gupta as her husband dis-

1 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff
2 *Ibid* pp 55ff
3 P H A I (3rd edn) p 387
4 C. I I III No 14 pp 62ff

carding all the other sons of the king or kings The natural implication is that Skanda Gupta became the emperor by superseding the claims of others It is certainly important to bear in mind that the Hunas and the Pusyamitras could hardly stand in the way of peaceful succession by Skanda Gupta, if he was the lawful and undisputed heir to the throne ' The persistent emphasis in his inscriptions that he got the kingdom by force of his own arms lends additional weight to the hypothesis that he had no legal claims and hence he boasted of his own strength Therefore, the enemies with which he had to deal were not only the enemies of the Gupta family not belonging to the Gupta lineage but also the enemies belonging to the same family

The allusion to Krisna and Devaki in the Bhitari pillar inscription[1] may have some significance. Kṛisna fought and defeated his enemies including his relatives like Kamśa, who had made his mother unhappy and, Devaki must have received Krisna with 'eyes full of tears from joy' Likewise Skanda Gupta had defeated his enemies and outwitted his rival relations, so he was a cause of great joy to his mother, who widowed after the death of Kumāra Gupta, must have been feeling miserable as she was not the Mahādevi or Queen mother She was consequently full of tears from joy to see the victorious Skanda Gupta, who had raised her to the high status of the Queen mother, a status which she might not have dreamt of[2]

Kumāra Gupta I had died leaving more than one grown up son Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta are known to be the sons of Kumara Gupta From the Tumain inscription of Kumāra Gupta and Ghatotkacha Gupta[3] dated 116 G E

1 *Ibid* pp 55ff
2 N N Das Gupta carries the allusion to Kṛisna and Devakī too far by suggesting that Skanda Gupta's mother may have belonged to the tribe of the Puṣyamitras, whose king was hostile to Skanda and who defeated them to the joy of his mother (B C Law volume I pp 617ff) D C Sarkar also thinks likewise that Skanda fought his own meternal uncle (S I I p 314 Note 2)
3 I A XLIX *pp* 114ff E I XXVI p 115 Dandeker's suggestions that the inscription indicates that 'Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, was then trying to be politically independent, by severing all loyal connections,

(=435 36 A D) we know that when Kumara Gupta I, the son of Chandra Gupta II 'protected the earth', Ghatotkacha Gupta was governing the province of Airikinā The way in which Ghatotkacha Gupta is described in the inscription as 'having attained the glory won by ancestors with the powers of their own arms', suggests that he was a prince of the royal family whose members have won renown as governors of the important provinces A seal bearing the legend '*Śri Ghatotkacha guptasya*' has been found at Basarh' and Bloch[1] attributed it to Ghatotkacha, the father of Chandra Gupta I. Smith[2] and Basak[3] accepted the identification But Allan[4] rightly asserted that "there is really no reason to identify Ghatotkacha, father of Chandra Gupta with Ghatotkacha Gupta of the seal We feel no hesitation in identifying Ghatotkacha Gupta of the inscription with that of the seal It appears that Ghatotkacha Gupta, a royal prince, was attached to the provincial government of Vaiśali under Maharaja Govinda Gupta, the son of Chandra Gupta II and Mahadevi Dhruvaswaminī, whose seal has been discovered at Basarh [5] We do not know anything definite about the exact relationship between Ghatotkacha Gupta and Kumara Gupta But it may be correct to presume that Ghatotkacha Gupta was 'the son or younger brother of Kumara Gupta I'[6] In the time of Chandra Gupta II he was trained in the arts of Gupta administration and in the time of Kumara Gupta I he was considered capable to hold the charge of the province of Airikina, which is clearly suggested by the Tumain inscription[7]

which he owed in his capacity of a provincial governor to his Sovereign at *Magadha* and the internal dissensions among the scions of the Gupta royal family thus appear to have started even during the times of Kumara Gupta I (A History of the Guptas p 119) seem to be over shooting the mark

1 A S I A R 1903 4 p 107
2 J R A S 1905 p 153
3 H N E I p 67
4 CCGDBM pp XVI XVII
5 A S I A R 1903-4 p 107
6 E I. XXVI pp 115ff
7 *Ibid*

If Ghatotkacha Gupta was a younger brother of Kumāra Gupta I, he must have been old at the time of Kumāra Gupta's death in 455, but it is equally possible that he was another son of Kumāra Gupta I [1]

When Kumāra Gupta died events must have followed one another quickly in the manner described below Kumāra Gupta's last days were very much disturbed by the aggression of the Pusyamitras and the inroads of the Hunas, and prince Skanda Gupta was sent to deal with the troubles, Puru Gupta, probably the eldest son of Kumāra Gupta and Mahadevi Anantadevi stayed at the court He must have felt jealous of his younger (?) step brother Skanda Gupta who was put in charge of momentous campaigns against the Pusyamitras and the Hunas Kumara Gupta's partiality towards Skanda Gupta may be behind the story of Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya of Ujjain, related in Somadeva's Kathāsaritasāgara [2] Allan[3] drew the attention of the scholars to this story as having a bearing on the Gupta history, and the learned scholar identified Vikramaditya of the story with Skanda Gupta, and Mahendraditya with Kumara Gupta I According to the story, Mahendrāditya nominated Vikramaditya to be the heir and himself with his wife retired to Vārānasi.[4] The same tradition of Mahendrasena (Kumāra Gupta I) crowning his son Duhprasahahasta (Skanda ?) and himself retiring to religious life is contained in the account given by Candragarbha paripṛichchhā [5] Jayaswal[6] has identified Mahendrasena with Kumara Gupta I and his son with Skanda Gupta. The account may be highly embellished in favour of the national hero Skanda Gupta, but, it may be not far from truth to read in it a strong tradition current in the country that Skanda Gupta was specially favoured by

1 S I I p 299 Note 1,
2 The Ocean of Story (Tawney) Edited by Mr. N M. Penzer, Vol IX Chapter XVIII pp 18
3 CCGDBM p XLIX, Note 1
4 The Ocean of Story (Tawney) IX, pp 1ff
5 Cited by Bu-Ston in "History of Buddhism' Pt. 2 (Eng. Trans.) p 171
6 I. H I p 56

Kumāra Gupta I It is possible that the story may have had its source in the successful career of Skanda Gupta At any rate it can be easily admitted that Skanda Gupta, who had not full claims to the throne, may have been a hot favourite of Kumara Gupta I, and this must have annoyed Puru Gupta, who was definitely a better claimant to the throne Therefore, when Kumāra Gupta was on the death bed, Skanda Gupta was away fighting the enemies of the empire, and Ghatotkacha Gupta was in Airikinā, far away from Magadha, Puru Gupta must have strengthened his position in the Court As soon as Kumara Gupta died, Puru Gupta proclaimed himself emperor When Skanda Gupta returned from his victorious campaign against the Puṣyamitras and the Hunas as well, he found his father dead and the throne, which he had come to look upon as his own because of his services to the empire and the trust of his father in him, was in possession of his step brother, Puru Gupta Flushed with his victory over the Pusyamitras 'who had developed great power and wealth'[1] Skanda Gupta could not be expected to ignore the challenge and sit idle

This rebellious attitude of Skanda Gupta against Puru Gupta, weak but the legitimate heir to the throne, must have encouraged other royal princes to join in the fray or carve out independent principalities for themselves One of them was Ghatotkacha Gupta He asserted his claim to sovereignty and issued coins We have in the St Petersburg collection, a gold coin of Archer type It has on the reverse, "the King, nimbate, standing to left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Garuda standard on the left, beneath the left arm (there is the legend) Ghato with crescent above, traces of inscription on the left ending in '(gu) pta (h)' On the reverse is the goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left and fillet in outstretched right arm, and on the right is (the legend) 'Kramaditya."[2] The coin thus described closely

1 C I I III, pp 55ff
2 CCGDBM 149 pl XXIV 3

resembles the Archer type coins of Kumāra Gupta,[1] Skanda Gupta,[2] and Narasimha Gupta,[3] and other Gupta coins of the same type Hence there is no doubt that the Ghatotkacha Gupta of the coins is a Gupta king This coin cannot belong to Ghatotkacha, father of Chandra Gupta I, and on the basis of the style and weight of the coin, Allan[4] placed it in about the end of the 5th century In the learned scholar's opinion, the Basarh seal of Śri Ghatotkacha Gupta is also earlier than the coin [5] But this does not stand in the way of the identification of Ghatotkacha Gupta of the seal with that of the coin We have seen that the seal of Ghatotkacha Gupta may be dated in the time of Chandra Gupta II, while the coin may be about fifty years later, as Ghatotkacha could have issued it only after the death of Kumara Gupta I Therefore we have no doubt in our mind that the Ghatotkacha Gupta of the seal, inscription and coin are one and the same person The fact that so far only one coin bearing his name has been found certainly suggests that his attempt at sovereignty was very short lived [6]

Another defiant Gupta prince may have been Chandra Gupta III His existence can be inferred from coins only In the Indian Museum Catalogue[7] Smith describes five gold coins of suvarna standard with the legend Śrivikramaḥ on the reverse, and he attributes these base metal coins to a late provincial issue, or to be posthumous [8] Allan[9] has attributed Nos. 33 and 34 of Smith's Catalogue with no name or legend on the

1 *Ibid* p 64, LXXVIII
2 *Ibid* p 114 No 417
3 *Ibid* pp 137ff
4 CCGDBM p LIV
5 *Ibid*
6 P L. Gupta (I H Q XXII pp 316 ff) takes Ghaṭotkacha Gupta to be the immediate successor of Kumara Gupta I and assigns a very short period to him In view of the lack of any positive evidence to make Ghaṭotkacha Gupta a full fledged successor of Kumāra Gupta I, our suggestion that the former was only one of the claimants to the throne is more plausible A parallel may be seen in the history of the Later Mughals
7 C. I M I pp 106 7
8 C. I M I p 106, Note I
9 C C G D B M p cit.

reverse to Puru Gupta According to the same scholar, the other heavy weight suvarṇa-standard coins of the catalogue (Nos 30 and 32) should be assigned to a Chandra Gupta III Dvādaśāditya 'unless the reverse legend is absolutely certain'[1] It may be pointed out that the three coins in the British Museum with the reverse legend Śrī Dvādaśaditya,[2] which Allan had attributed to a Chandra Gupta III now are shown to belong to Vainya Gupta[3] and Allan has accepted the revised reading On the three coins Nos 30-32 of the Indian Museum Catalogue, the name is certainly Chandra not Vainya, and the reverse legend is probably Śrī Vikramah[4] No 31 of the coin has been admitted by Allan[5] to belong to Chandra Gupta II As there was no one like Chandra Gupta Dvādaśaditya, the *heavy weight base metal coins should be attributed to a Chandra* Gupta Vikramāditya. Smith[6] had attributed these coins to Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya Recently R C Kar[7] has strongly urged to regard these coins as issues of Chandra Gupta II who, therefore, was the first Gupta emperor to issue heavy weight suvarṇa coins But it is very unlikely that once Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya issued coins of the suvarna standard, no coin by Kumāra Gupta was issued on that standard which was a national standard Moreover the coin No 32 of the Indian Museum Catalogue[8] has "gold much alloyed" and it is certainly not explainable as to why should Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya issue base metal coins in a period of unexampled prosperity which is well illustrated by the variety and quality of his coins Therefore it is better to attribute these coins to another Candra Gupta, who may have also assumed the title of Vikramāditya, and so we call him Chandra Gupta III Vikramāditya It is true that he is not known from

1 *Ibid* p LIII and note I
2 *Ibid* p 144 Nos 588-90
3 I H Q IX, pp 784ff, *Ibid*, p 989 Bharata Kaumudi p 147
4 JNSI VII pp 13ff
5 CCGDBM, p LIII Note I
6 C I M I pp 166 7
7 *JNSI VII* pp 13ff
8 C I M I p 107, No 32

epigraphy But negative evidence in the field of ancient Indian historical research is most delusive, and we may be any day pleasantly surprised with the discovery of an inscription or a seal which may refer to this Chandra Gupta Recently the Tumain inscription of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta was such a valuable addition to our knowledge In the period immediately after the death of Kumara Gupta I, Chandra Gupta III, possibly another son of Kumara Gupta I, might have exhibited imperial ambitions, and assumed the high sounding title of Vikrama ditya in imitation of his grandfather of the same name

Thus we find that after the death of Kumara Gupta I, numerous royal princes—Puru Gupta, Skanda Gupta, Ghatotkacha Gupta and possibly Chandra Gupta III made a bid for the imperial throne These were the 'Sons of the King' out of whom the goddess Lakṣmī had to choose her husband, and we know that disregarding all these, she selected Skanda Gupta [1] The situation was very critical for the empire and the nation The Hunas were overrunning the country, and internal dissensions were rife in the imperial family. It is only in this context that the expressions '*Pitandivam upete*' and '*Viplu tamvamśalakṣmim*' mentioned in the Bhitari pillar inscription[2] of Skanda Gupta get their full purport and significance It should be obvious that the accession of Puru Gupta was not palatable to Skanda Gupta The latter had proved his mettle against the powerful Puṣyamitras and the Hunas Therefore, he might have won the support of the people, and could have easily pushed aside the weakling Puru Gupta and other claimants to the throne, and hence in his inscriptions it is always emphasized that he won the kingdom by the force of his own arms and saved his lineage that 'was made to totter' by the foreign invasions during the days of internal dissensions It is not necessary to assume that there was a bloody civil war It is quite possible that the rise of the luminous sun in the firmament eclipsed the light of lesser luminaries

1 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff
2 *Ibid* No 13 pp 53ff

The situation could have been very similar to that which the Chalukya king Vikramaditya had to face. From the Vikramañkadeva-Charita by Bilhana we come to know that Vikramaditya was the second and favourite son of Āhavamalla, who wanted to make Vikramāditya yuvaraja in supersession of the claim of Someśvara, the elder brother Vikramaditya refused and went on a military campaign When he was returning from the South he learnt that his father struck with a fatal disease had committed suicide and Somesvara had usurped the throne There was cordial relation between the brothers for sometime but ultimately civil war broke out and Someśvara was made a prisoner by Vikramāditya, who appears to have strengthened his position by matrimonial and diplomatic alliances [1] Skanda Gupta on return from his victorious campaign might have faced a similar situation and the outcome was the triumph of Skanda over other suitors of the goddess of Sovereignty [2]

Accession of Puru Gupta and his overthrow by Skanda Gupta

Immediately after the death of Kumara Gupta, Puru Gupta, the legitimate heir to the throne, being the son of Mahadevi Anantadevi, ascended the throne He issued coins and assumed the title of Vikramaditya, like his grandfather Chandra Gupta II There are four coins in the *British Museum* Catalogue which are attributed to him [3] One of the coins, now acquired by the British Museum, has the name 'Pura' on the obverse, and 'Śri Vikramah' on the reverse.[4] According to Allan,[5] the coins Nos 33 and 34 of the Indian Museum Catalogue, formerly attributed to Chandra *Gupta II* should be assigned to Puru Gupta Scholars[6] attributed the gold coins

of Prakāśaditya to Puru Gupta, but Allan[1] doubted the correctness of the contention Allan[2] has identified Puru Gupta with Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā and father of Bālāditya, the patron of Vasubandhu according to Paramārtha[3] The identification proposed can hardly be questioned Thus Puru Gupta, *not Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya*[4], *becomes the first Gupta* emperor to have extended his active patronage to Buddhism under the influence of Vasubandhu This Pro-Buddhist king did not enjoy peaceful reign Members of the royal family were challenging his authority and the Hūnas were overrunning the kingdom From the Bhitarī[5] and Junāgadh inscriptions,[6] and from the Kathāsaritasāgara[7] and Chandragarbha-Paripṛichchhā,[8] it is clear that Skanda routed the Hūnas only after he came to the throne During such difficult days the feudatories and other kings must have been lifting 'their heads in pride and arrogance'[9] Almost all the causes—internal dissensions, foreign invasions and uprising of the feudatories,—which have led to the fall of great empires in the past and ultimately brought about the downfall of the Gupta empire itself, appeared at the same time and put the entire resources and intelligence of the royal dynasty and the nation to a severe test Puru Gupta, the Pro Buddhist king, proved unequal to the task

His half brother Skanda Gupta had earned a good name in crushing the Puṣyamitras and in fighting the Hūnas, and therefore the Court and the people must have supported him against Puru Gupta in the dark days of the empire Hence

1 CCGDBM p LII
2 *Ibid* P L
3 J R A S 1905, pp 33ff
4 I H I p 39
5 C. I. I III No 13 pp. 55ff
6 *Ibid* pp 62ff
7 The Ocean of Story Vol IX pp. 1 ff
8 *Quoted by Bu-Ston in his History of Buddhism* (Eng Tr.) Pt. 2 p 172
9 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff

Skanda Gupta must have easily succeeded in his efforts to become emperor by 'the strength of his own arms.'[1] Puru Gupta must have succeeded his father in the year 455 A. D. and before the year was hardly out, he had to make way for his half-brother Skanda Gupta, who had not unimpeachable claims to the throne, being the son of a secondary wife of Kumāra Gupta I. We have already urged that the fact of Skanda Gupta not being mentioned in the inscriptions in any of the conventional phrases, as *tatpādānudhyāta* or *tatparigrihīta*, in the inscriptions to describe the nature of his relationship with his father Kumāra Gupta I, has a much deeper meaning than has hitherto been given to it by scholars. It is also not without significance that unlike the other Gupta inscriptions, all the inscriptions of the time of Skanda Gupta, though not generally giving the genealogy of their hero (Skanda Gupta), without exception, emphasize rather over-emphasize that Skanda Gupta belonged to the Gupta lineage. He is 'the banner of the lineage'[2], 'born in the lineage of the Guptas'[3], 'the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas'.[4] This characteristic feature—the emphasis on being a member of the Gupta dynasty—is absent from other inscriptions of the imperial Guptas. Together with other considerations (set out above) it strengthens the suspicion that, as Skanda Gupta had no full rights to the throne according to the Gupta constitutional usage, his admirers stressed the fact of his being of 'Gupta lineage' for popular appeal. Probably because Skanda Gupta was constitutionally an usurper to the throne, he is not mentioned in the seals of Puru Gupta's descendants. The complete absence of his name from these seals is another link in the long chain of arguments that bad relationship existed between Puru Gupta and Skanda Gupta, and this fact was never forgotten by Puru Gupta's successors, who completely omitted from the official seals the

1. *Ibid.*
2. C. I. I. III No. 14 pp. 64-65, line 25.
3. *Ibid*, No. 15, Page 67.
4. *Ibid*, No. 13, p. 56, line 4.

name of Skanda Gupta, the usurper, who had deprived their ancestor Puru Gupta of his legal sovereignty.[1]

Thus we have tried to establish that after the death of Kumāra *Gupta I, the empire had to face external menace and* internal dissensions simultaneously, and the troubles ended only with the successful *coup d'état* by Skanda Gupta, who overthrew *the weak but legitimate ruler Puru Gupta, and frustra*ted the attempts of other royal princes to grab the prize of sovereignty

Puru Gupta had a very brief reign of less than a year to his credit, and his rule was inglorious That may explain the omission of his name from the dynastic succession of the imperial *rulers of Madhyadeśa in the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa.* His very brief and disturbed reign may also account for the very small number of coins that can be safely attributed to him. *His coins are of suvarna standard and it appears that he was* the first Gupta emperor to reintroduce the national standard. His authority could have been limited only to the eastern *provinces of the empire, where the suvarna standard would* have been more welcome as the Kusāna influence must have been less in this part of the country as compared to the western The fact that rival claimants to the throne appeared at the end of a long and prosperous reign is nothing unique in the dynastic history of the imperial Guptas or as a matter of fact in the history of India as a whole [2]

1. Raychaudhuri (P. H. A I. 4th Edn pp. 494-95, *Note 2*) points out instances, from the Chālukya, later Pratihāras and Vākāṭaka history, of omission of names of rulers in the inscriptions of their brothers and nephews As against this it may be pointed out that if good relations existed between brothers, their names were added in the inscriptions of the other brother.

Banskhera (E I IV pp 208ff) and Madhuban plates (E I. I pp 70ff) mention the name of Rājyavardhana

2. It is possible that there were some troubles between Kācha and Samudra Gupta after the death of Chandra Gupta I. Rāma Gupta and Chandra Gupta *II were rivals to the throne; Govinda Gupta* may have contested Kumāra Gupta I (See *Supra*). It may be easily assumed that the palace of the imperial Guptas was hardly ever free from the atmosphere of family feuds at the prospect of every succession to the throne. Such feuds have been common in the history of the Chālukyas, the Pālas, and throughout the Muslim period.

Possible objections against the proposed theory.

Against this theory (set out above) which, places Puru Gupta between Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta, it may be urged that as the last known date of Kumāra Gupta is 136 G. E. and the first known date of Skanda Gupta is 136 G. E. known from the Juṅagadh rock inscription of Skanda Gupta,[1] the latter must be the immediate successor of Kumāra Gupta[2] and 'began his reign in 455 A. D.'[3] With due respect to the learned scholars we may point out that the evidence of the Junāgaḍh inscription does not "necessarily mean that Skanda Gupta was ruling before 136 G. E. when the lake burst."[4] The inscription[5] at first eulogises the reigning king Skanda Gupta and then describes his anxiety to find 'a suitable man to bear the burden' of the governorship of Surāṣṭra; then it states that Parṇadatta was finally selected, and the latter in turn selected his son Chakrapālita as the protector of the city: then follows the history of the bursting of the lake which is said to have happened in 136 G.E. , and in 137 G. E. 'Chakrapālita displaying the height of his devotion to his father, holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city' offered sacrifices to gods, certainly as a propitiatory measure, and by 138 G. E.. the lake was repaired, a dam was constructed, the temple of Chakrabhrita completed and the epigraph inscribed on this rock. This makes it certain that Skanda Gupta must have been on the throne in 137 G. E.. Before he came to the throne the lake may have burst and wrought devastation, and this might have been one of the major worries of Skanda Gupta on his coming to the throne early in 137 G. E., which made him think hard over the question of the appointment of a suitable man as a governor of Surāṣṭra. The fact that Parṇadatta accepted the honourable but respon-

1. C. I. III No. 14 pp. 62ff.
2. E. H. I. p. 326.
3. P. H. A. I. (3rd Edn.) p. 387.
4. I. A. XXXI, pp. 257ff.
5. C. I. I. No. 14 pp. 62ff.

sible job only after being hard pressed by Rajadhirāja (Skanda Gupta), may have *some significance* Was *it because the* dynastic feuds, which had disfigured the country and ultimately ended in the success of Skanda Gupta, had so much shaken the confidence of men like Parnadatta, at a time when the Hunas were still a menace, that it was not easy for Skanda Gupta to find a man for this onerous post ?[1]

Another objection based on numismatic evidence may be pressed against our contention that Skanda Gupta followed Puru Gupta on the throne of the imperial Guptas According to Allan,[2] "We have gold coins of Skanda Gupta divided *into two distinct classes, distinguished by weight, obverse* and reverse legends the coins of the type struck on a standard of about 132 grains, are *Perhaps* the earlier, as they are mostly connected in weight with Kumara Gupta's gold coins, the second class of coins are struck on a standard of 144 6 grains of *baser metal*, these *probably* belong to the later period of the reign " Smith[3] also held the same opinion that "the incursions of the nomad tribes from the North West gradually shattered his power, *his courage in his later years deteriorated* " Elsewhere, the learned scholar observed "The financial distress of Skanda Gupta's administration is plainly indicated by the abrupt debasement of the coinage in his later years The gold coins of his early and prosperous days agree in both weight and fineness with those of his ancestors but the later issues, while increased in gross weight, so as to suit the ancient Hindu standard of the suvarna, exhibit *a decline* in the amount of pure gold *in each piece from 108 to 73 grains* '[4] *The alleged debasement* of the coinage was attributed by Smith to 'the difficulty

1 Is it possible that a few months of Puru Gupta s reign had elapsed between the year 136 the date of the silver coin of Kumāra Gupta I and the year 136 when the lake burst, assumeing that Skanda was on the throne at that time ?

2 CCGDBM p XCVIII

3 C I M I p 98

4 E H I p 326

which the treasury experienced in meeting the cost of the Hūṇa war.'[1] It is important to point out that the theory of debasement of coins by Skanda Gupta is based on the report of chemical analysis given by Cunningham in his 'Coins of Mediaeval India.''[2] In the chart given by Cunningham, 48 coins of Skanda Gupta of lighter weight have as the average 108.4 grains of pure gold and only 16·2 grains of alloy, while the average of 9 gold coins of suvarṇa standard have as much as 67 grains of alloy and only 73 grains of pure gold. It is on the authority of this chart that the whole theory of the repetition of Hūṇa invasion in the last years of Skanda Gupta is based, and that in itself has been used to explain the debasement (?) of the coins of the suvarṇa standard issued by Skanda Gupta. Because Puru Gupta's coins are of suvarṇa standard, and are also considered debased, it is held that Puru Gupta must have followed and not preceded Skanda Gupta. But the entire foundation of this attractive theory is destroyed by the report of the British Museum laboratory on the coins of Skanda Gupta and Puru Gupta. In all eight coins of Skanda Gupta were sent for chemical analysis, Nos. 417, 418, 419, 422 and 423 of the British Museum Catalogue, and having the old standard of 132 grains in weight contain 74 or 75%, 74%, 67%, 67% and 72% of pure gold respectively, while Nos. 426, 427 and 428 belonging to the heavier standard (suvarṇa) of 146.4 grains have respectively 79%, 76% and 79 or 78°% of pure gold.[3] Thus it is clear that the heavy-standard coins of Skanda Gupta were not debased at all, and are in no case inferior in quality, if not superior, to the issues on old standard of 132 grains. It is evident, therefore, that Skanda Gupta issued gold coins of almost equal purity throughout his reign and there is no ground to postulate difficult days in the later years of Skanda Gupta. As a matter of fact on the basis of the report on the eight coins of Skanda Gupta, it may be remarked that the issues on the old standard are less

1. *Ibid* p. 327.
2. C. M. I. p 16.
3. Appendix I, a, b and c.

pure in gold than those on the heavy standard The two coins of Puru Gupta in the British Museum Catalogue weigh 142 7 and 141 4 *grains respectively,*[1] *and the weight of Hoey's coin,* which is now in the British Museum, is 142 2 grains The two coins Nos 33 and 34, in the Indian Museum Catalogue, (page 107), which were attributed to Chandra Gupta II but may belong to Puru Gupta, weigh 142 1 and 146 2 grains, and are 'fairly good gold,' and 'fairly well executed '[2] The Hoey's coin of Puru Gupta has 70°/₀ of gold[3], while No 550 of the British Museum Catalogue has 77°/₀ of gold [4] Thus it is clear that there was no appreciable debasement of currency in the time of Puru Gupta, and therefore the theory that Puru Gupta *followed Skanda Gupta, on the authority of purity of gold in* their coins, does not stand What actually happened is that Puru Gupta could exercise his effective suzerainty only over the Eastern provinces of the empire, while the North Western, Western and South West provinces were practically lost because of the raids by the Hunas and the rebellions by other claimants to the throne—Skanda Gupta, Ghatotkacha Gupta and probably Chandra Gupta III Puru Gupta issued the suvarna standard of coins When Skanda Gupta established his authority over the far flung empire he continued to issue the *Suvarnas* reintroduced by his predecessor but at the same time struck coins on the old standard popular with Kumāra Gupta I and Chandra Gupta II It is possible that the coins issued on the two different standards were circulating in different districts of the empire, and as Skanda Gupta was master of the entire extent of the empire, he continued the two distinct standards [5] When Skanda Gupta came to the throne he had to be busy fighting the Huṇas and, therefore, in his early years he had no time to issue new varieties of coin types Therefore, he must have continued to issue the common archer type of

1 CCGDBM. p 134 Nos. 540 551
2 C I M I p 107 Nos 33 34.
3 Appendix IC.
4 Appendix Ia.
5. We are indebted for this suggestion to Mr. J Allan

coins and except for the name and the title he followed the style and weight of Puru Gupta's coins. A comparison between Nos. 10-15, and 1-2 of plates XIX and XX of the British Museum Catalogue representing the heavy standard coins of Skanda Gupta with those of Puru Gupta (Plate XXI, Nos. 23, 24 and 25) will bear this point out. It was probably when Skanda Gupta had completely routed the Hūṇas, frustrated the ambitions of his rivals, and established peace and settled government throughout the dominion that he could issue a special variety of coins—'King and Lakṣmī' type—to emphasize his devotion to Lakṣmī, whose favouritism to Skanda Gupta is more than once stressed in the inscriptions. One such coin (No. 422, B. M. C.) has only 67% of gold; this may be due to its being worn out. Thus we have tried to show that the numismatic evidence does not go against our contention that Skanda Gupta followed and not preceded Puru Gupta.

Another objection against our contention may be noted. P. L. Gupta holds that Puru Gupta must have followed Skanda otherwise "if Skanda Gupta succeeded Puru Gupta after a struggle, he would never let him or his heirs survive to come into power again."[1] This is rather a dangerous premise and it is hardly fair to regard every successful winner in the race for the possession of the throne to be a prototype of Shahjahan or Aurangzeb. We have urged that it is not necessary to believe in a bloody and fratricidal war. The inherent qualities of Skanda Gupta, proved in the acute national crisis, must have helped him to stage the *coup d'état* without much bloodshed, if any at all.

1. I. H. Q. XXII p. 319 Note. 16.

CHAPTER II

SKANDA GUPTA AND KUMĀRA GUPTA II

Skanda Gupta

Skanda Gupta followed Puru Gupta early in 137 G E (= 456 A D) But it was not to a bed of roses that he had fought his way. The terrible Hunas were overrunning the country and desecrating the sacred motherland "The hostile kings, like so many serpents, were lifting up their heads in pride and arrogance "[1] Taking advantage of the internal and external misfortunes of the empire, "his enemies had put themselves forward in the desire for conquest that was so highly *welcome to them* '[2] *The echo of the family troubles might* not have died out, and Skanda Gupta must have had to make his authority felt in the different parts of the empire affected by rebellions by members of the royal family. An empire distracted by ravages of the Hunas' raids, and thrown into confusion by rebellions within, needed peace and settled government. In other words, Skanda Gupta had to face all the problems which could have baffled the genius of the best statesmen

But Skanda Gupta rose equal to the occasion and proved to be the man of the hour. He utilised 'the authority of (his local) representatives, who were so many Garudas[3] against the hostile kings (Serpents)', and subdued 'his enemies who had developed a desire for conquest '[4] The war against the Hūnas was hard and terrible If Vikramaditya of Kathasaritasagara[5] is Skanda Gupta, then we are to believe that after his accession, he waged a prolonged war against the Mlechchhas The story of the

1 C I I III No 14 pp 55ff
2 *Ibid*, No 13 p 55
3 *Ibid*, No 14 p 62
4 *Ibid* No 13 p 55
5 Tawney (Penzer) IX, pp 1ff

Chandragarbha-Paripṛchchhā[1] about the son of Mahendrasena (Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya) also suggests that Skanda Gupta had to continue war against the Hūnas up to twelve years of his reign. The length of the period of the Hūnic war, *given in the story, may not be quite correct. From the* Junāgadh inscription of Skanda Gupta inscribed in 138 G.E.[2] we come to know that Skanda had crushingly defeated the Hūnas, 'having their pride broken down to the very root,' and had driven them out of the country so successfully that his fame was sung 'even in the country of the Mlechchhas.' According to the Kathāsaritasāgara.[3] Vikramāditya (Skanda Gupta) soon after his accession sent an army on a *digvijaya*, and there is a reference to his conquest of the Southern countries, Madhyadeśa, Surāṣtra, all the *eastern regions* of the Gangā, and Kashmir. We are informed that the kings of Gauda, Lāṭa, Kashmir, Sindh, and those of the Bhillas and the Persians surrendered to him. Of course the account is too conventional to be adopted *as absolutely true history: but in view of the succession* of Skanda Gupta being in nature of a *coup d'état* amidst rebellions and foreign invasions, it is reasonable to believe that Skanda Gupta must have satisfied himself that his sovereignty was acknowledged throughout the length and breadth of the empire Therefore, the early years of his reign must have been fairly busy and disturbed. But by 141 G.E. 'complete peace and tranquillity reigned in the empire,'[4] and this emphasis on the peaceful character of the reign in an inscription dated 141 G.E.[5] suggests that the early years of the reign were not tranquil, but by 141 G.E , i.e , about five years after his accession, the troublous days were over and settled government was established throughout the empire.

The disturbances in the empire had naturally adversely affected the administration, and the provincial governors and

1. Bu-Ston, *op. cit* pp 171-2
2. C I. I. III No 14 pp 62ff
3. Tawney (Penzer) IX pp If.
4. C. I. I III No 15 pp. 67-68
5. *Ibid.*

high officers of the state must have lost their morals and impartiality The anxiety of Skanda Gupta to find out a capable person to administer the Western provinces[1] shows that he was still apprehensive of the Hūnas The same inscription also informs us that "he appointed protectors in all countries "[2] This fact—the new appointments of governors of the provinces—further strengthens our contention that Skanda Gupta had to deal with internal crisis as well It is quite possible that he might have appointed new governors enjoying his confidence in place of others whose loyalty to him in the dynastic quarrels was not above board However, there can be no doubt that Skanda Gupta re-established a benevolent and efficient administration, and so the epithet "*Parahitakari* [3] on his coins is not misplaced

Extent of the Empire

Thus, Skanda Gupta had successfully tided over a series of serious crises that overwhelmed the dynasty, the empire and the country. He had attained his objects step by step He made his position secure on the throne, got his suzerainty acknowledged throughout the empire, warded off the Huna menace, crushed the insubordinate spirit of the feudatories and established a settled government and good administration in the land All these achievements were made possible by the sterling qualities of his character—"by daily intense application, by means of his good behaviour and strength, and *politic* conduct,' [4] and by his skilful acquisition and employment of resources against his enemies The Junagadh rock inscription[5] shows that he was master of Surastra by 137 G E , by 141 G E [6] he was master of the Eastern provinces Some of his heavy weight coins were found in Bihar[7] and Bengal[8] His

1 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff
2 *Ibid*
3 CCGDBM p CXXI
4 C I I III No 13 p 55
5 *Ibid* No 14 pp 62ff
6 *Ibid* No 15 p 66
7 CCGDBM No 429 p 118
8 JNSI VII pp 13ff

extensive and varied silver coinage proves that he ruled over the western dominions of the empire.[1] The Garuda type was issued for circulation in Western India,[2] and the Alter type in Central India, while the Bull or Nandī type circulated in Kāthiāwād and the Gulf of Cambey area.[3] On one variety of the Altar-type of the silver coins, Skanda Gupta is referred to as 'Vikramāditya'[4] while the usual title given to him is 'Kramāditya.' The peacock type was in circulation in the central provinces of the empire and it is of two classes according to a slight difference in legend on the reverse. The legend on the Bull type of the silver coinage is usually defective.[5] Skanda Gupta also issued gold coins, but they 'do not present the variety of types found in the preceding reigns.'[6] Skanda was too preoccupied with more serious affairs to indulge in the luxury of introducing too many innovations in the gold coinage of his period. When all the dangers were successfully overcome, and peace and prosperity reigned, he issued a special type of gold coins—King and Lakṣmī type[7].—to celebrate his claim to be the special favourite of the goddess Lakṣmī, or to express his gratitude to the goddess who had selected him after discarding all the other sons of the king. It is, therefore, clear that the rule of Skanda Gupta extended over almost the whole of Northern India, from the Himālayas in the north to the Vindhya's in the south, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. He certainly maintained intact the extensive dominion left by his father and grandfather.

An estimate of Skanda Gupta.

Skanda Gupta reigned from *Cir* 456—470 A.D , the last known date on a silver coin is 148 G. E. (467-68 A.D.). During this short period, compared to the long reigns of his father and

1. CCGDBM p XLVIII.
2. Bannerji R. D. *op. cit* p 243.
3. CCGDBM p CI.
4. *Ibid* p CII
5. *Ibid* p CXXI
6. *Ibid*, p XCVIII.
7. *Ibid* p 116.

grandfather, he achieved wonders He was the national hero, who relieved the suffering of the motherland, groaning under the oppressive hoofs of the barbaric Hūnas, and saved the empire and the dynasty from total eclipse He was a benevolent ruler with scrupulous regard for justice and law His subjects must have suffered evils of maladministration during the disturbed years that intervened between the death of Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta's victories over his internal and external enemies, and, therefore, his virtuous and just administration is specially noted in the Junāgadh inscription[1]—"While, he, the king is reigning, verily, no man among his subjects falls away from religion, and there is no one who is distressed in poverty, or in misery, or is avaricious or who, worthy of punishment, is over much put to torture" Verily, such a paternal and just ruler would win the hearts of the grateful people, and the heroism and patience of this saviour of the nation were "sung in every region by happy men, even down to the children"[2] His anxiety for the peace and security of the empire and the prosperity of the people is illustrated by the tests or standards that he set for the appointment of a governor of a province A governor was to be "suitable, endowed with intellect, modest, possessed of a disposition that is not destitute of wisdom and memory, endowed with truth and straightforwardness, civility and fame, loyal, affectionate, endowed with manly characteristics, possessed of a mind that (has been tried and) is (found to be) pure by all the tests of honesty, possessed of an inner soul pervaded by (the inclination for) the acquittance of debts and obligations, occupied with the welfare of all mankind, capable both in lawful acquisition of wealth and also in preservation of it when acquired and, further, in causing the increase of it when protected, and able to dispense it on worthy objects when it has been increased"[3] The formidable list of qualities that Skanda Gupta sought in the appointed governor

1 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff
2. *Ibid*, No 13 pp 55 56
3 *Ibid*, No 14, pp 62ff

of Surāstra compares well with the qualifications of the highest officers of the state laid down by Kautilya Even a casual glance at the considerations that Skanda Gupta made in his choice of the governor of Surastra will make it clear that he was as much guided by the desire for seeing the people happy and prosperous as for the enrichment of the treasury and the stability of the administration The interests of the ruler and the ruled were identical, and Skanda Gupta must have been very keen that his ideals of administration were worked out by his provincial governors This may also partly account for the hesitation on the part of Parnadatta to accept the responsible post [1]

Thus, Skanda Gupta was a great conqueror, a liberator of the nation, the restorer of the pride of the imperial Guptas, and above all the fountain-head of a benevolent administration His achievements clearly place him with his great predecessors like Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya. It is quite in keeping with the facts of history that "the language of his inscriptions shows that his exploits were considered quite as great as those of Samudra Gupta."[2] It is no exaggeration to describe him as resembling 'the god Śakra '[3] and, as '*the most eminent hero in the lineage* of the Guptas '[4] Even the author of the Ārya-Mañjusrimūla kalpa, a Buddhist religious work, observes as his considered opinion that "He will be the best, wise and religious king (*Śresthoh buddhimanadharmavatsalah*) in that low age (*yugadhama*)'[5] a testimony which is well corroborated by the epigraphy[6] He followed the traditional ancient Indian policy of religious toleration, and though he was a devotee of Visnu (*Paramabhāga*

1. C I I III, No 13 pp. 62ff
2 CCGDBM p XLVII
3 C I I III, No 15 p 67
4. *Ibid*, No 13 p 55
5. I. H I pp 33, 47 48 (Text)
6 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff Analogus to the 'Yugādhama' in the Ārya Mañju-śri mula kalpa, we have the expression in line 15 'Even in this time, which is a mean one."

vata][1], in his time Jaina images were set up[2], Śiva's bull is found on one type of his coins [3]

The last known date of Skanda Gupta is 148 G. E. (=467-68 A D) found on a silver coin [4] We have an inscription from Sārnath[5] dated in the Gupta year 154 (=473-74 A D) when "Kumāra Gupta was protecting the earth" Therefore the reign of Skanda Gupta must have been over before 473 A D. Scholars have identified this Kumāra Gupta with Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitarī seal, but it has been shown above that this identification should be given up Therefore, there is no reason to place the end of Skanda Gupta's reign in 467 A D We may put the end of Skanda Gupta's reign in *Cir.* 470 A D.

The last years of Skanda Gupta

It is very unfortunate that we have no materials to construct an authoritative history of the later years of Skanda Gupta's reign. It has been suggested by Smith[6] that in the last years of his reign there were renewed Hūṇa invasions and "he was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners" It is really very unfortunate that this severe indictment of the 'best, wise and religious king of that low Age,' though supported by no positive evidence, is repeated by many other scholars R. D. Banerji[7] speaks of more than one Hūna blow in the time of Skanda Gupta "The subsequent history of the reign of Skanda Gupta is not known to us But the Huna invasions continued and most probably Skanda Gupta lost his life in trying to stem the mighty flood of the third invasion" The learned scholar then chooses the people of Magadha as a target for his attacks "In India we do not know what preparations were made by the emperor

1 Found on his silver coins CCGDBM p 119
2 C I I III No 15 pp 66ff
3 CCGDBM p 121.
4 J R A S 1889 p 134
5 A. S I A R 1914-15, p 123
6 E H. I p 328
7 Banerji *Op Cit* pp 47 49

Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta to meet the outburst of the barbarians *through the Northern passes* *Pataliputra was still* the capital of India, and Magadha still the leader of the nations of Northern India Did the Magadhas realise the importance *of the sacred trust* placed in their *charge by the people* of Northern India? The verdict of history is against them For the last time in the history of Magadha the people of that province failed in their duty The Western gates of India were neglected in the time of Kumara Gupta I and swarm after swarm of barbarians poured through them Chinese historians have recorded the destruction of the cities of Bactria and Afghanistan Did Kumara Gupta I make any attempt to succour the minor Kuṣāna chiefs of these two countries? Our records are silent on this point and we have to admit that at the supreme moment the people of Magadha belied their trust The influx of Roman gold and the soft life of a century of peace and prosperity had enervated the people of Magadha"

A critical analysis of the long quotation given above will show that Mr Bannerji had no positive proofs to substantiate his grave charges against the kings and the people of Magadha When the subsequent history of the reign of Skanda Gupta is not known to us, it is hardly fair to postulate a serious hypothesis that 'Skanda Gupta died fighting the Hūnas' It is really unjust, to say the least, to condemn great rulers and a great people, 'when our records are silent' and we do not know 'anything about the preparations made by emperors Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta *to meet this outburst of the barbarians*' It is true that *the Hūnas made inroads into Indian* territories in the last years of Kumara Gupta I, and probably also in the early years of Skānda Gupta's *reign*. The Huṇa raids in Asia and Europe in the 5th century were the outcome of a series of mass movements of a terrible people who swept away everything that came in their way Such mass human migrations are known to have happened before and after the Hunas The Aryans, the Śakas and the Kusanas preceded, and the Turks and the Mongols followed the Hunas' adventures

Against such upsurge of restless and savage peoples great and powerful empires and civilizations have been 'forced to bow down before the storm, and let the legions thunder past' The Hunas established themselves in the Oxus basin in about 448 A D [1] The North-West frontier kingdoms of India felt the weight of their onslaughts subsequently We cannot make Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta directly responsible for the defence of the North-Western passes, which were far outside the limits of their empire the utmost that can be said is that the imperial Guptas like Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II should have included this region under their empire but that is not the fault of Kumara Gupta I, and certainly not of Skanda Gupta who had to deal with more serious problems of consolidation and preservation of the extensive kingdom than the extension of boundaries The facts that while the Hunas were masters of the Oxus Valley in 448 A D, and they could enter the territories of the Gupta empire so late as in 454 55 A D, imply that preparations were made to protect the North-Western frontiers of the empire The Hūnas invaded the Gupta empire during the last days of the old emperor Kumāra Gupta I Unfortunately the invasion coincided with the rebellion of the powerful Pusyamitras and the death of Kumara Gupta I Worst of all internal dissensions broke out and the weak Puru Gupta on the throne was unable to cope with the situation This gave to the Hūnas an initial advantage and they may have even desecrated the plains of Northern India,[2] and the Western provinces of the empire Fortunately, the days of darkness were shortlived, and the accession of Skanda Gupta brought forth the best in the government and the people to defeat the barbarians Skanda Gupta won a resounding victory over the Hūnas, certainly before 138 G E (457 58 A D) when the Junāgadh inscription[3] was inscribed The Hūnas were crushingly defeated,

1 I A XLVI p 287

2 Reference to the roaring of the Gangā in connection with the war with the Hunas (C I I III No 13 page 56)

3 C I I III No 14 pp 62ff

their "pride was broken down to the very root,"[1] and they were driven back to 'their own country,' where the fame of Skanda Gupta was sung The victory over the Hunas was final, the sacred soil of the mother land was freed from the 'barbarian Mlechchhas' and there is no ground to contend that the Hunas, even after their severe defeat, continued to invade the empire, and that Skanda Gupta died fighting Inscriptions of his reign do not give the remotest suggestion of any dark clouds overhanging the horizon of the empire during the later years of his rule The Kahaum stone-pillar inscription dated 141 G E speaks of 'the tranquil reign of Skanda Gupta'[2], the Indor copper plate inscription of the year 146 G E (=465 66 A D) refers to his 'augmenting victorious reign'[3] and the Gadhwa inscription of the year 148 G E (=467 68) which seems to have contained the name of Skanda Gupta, describes his reign as 'of increasing victory'[4] His last known date on a silver coin is 148 G E (=467-68 A D)

Therefore, it may be assumed with a considerable degree of certainty that the defeated and humiliated Hunas had learnt to respect the might of the people of Magadha and their ruler and dared not transgress the frontiers of the Gupta empire The frontiers of the empire could hardly be neglected by an able ruler like Skanda Gupta, this is clear from the Junagadh inscription[5] wherein it is stated that "having conquered the whole earth (and) having destroyed the height of the pride of (his) enemies" he, "appointed protectors in all the countries," and "cogitated in many ways" over the question of selection of the governor of a frontier province like Surāstra It is quite reasonable to conclude that such a ruler would not have neglected other vulnerable frontiers of the empire The people of Magadha rose equal to the occasion, and in Skanda Gupta they produced a national hero who saved the country from a terrible menace

1 *Ibid*
2 *Ibid* No 15 p 67
3 *Ibid* No 16 p 71
4 *Ibid* No 66 p 268
5 *Ibid* No. 14 pp 62 ff

The Magadhas, as on other occasions, again fulfilled the mission of rescuing the country from peril. If Chandragupta Maurya liberated the country from the 'yoke of the servitude of the Greeks', if Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya destroyed the power of the foreign Śakas, Skanda Gupta saved the empire and the country from the occupation of the Hūnas It was therefore in fitness of things that he assumed the titles of Kramāditya and Vikramāditya and became a hero of Indian legends [1] One class of his silver coins has the legend Vikramāditya [2] Instead of condemning the Magadhas and their king we have reasons to be grateful to them for saving the country and its civilization from the fate that the Romans and their civilization suffered at the hands of the Hūnas 'At the supreme moment' the people of Magadha and their ruler were put to a severe test and they proved that even 'the influx of Roman gold and the soft life of a century of peace and prosperity' failed to 'enervate them' and deflect them from the duty of discharging their historical mission, which destiny has been pleased to entrust to Magadha more than once.

There is really no reason to believe in the repeated and successful (?) invasions of the Hūnas in the life-time of Skanda Gupta The Hunas, *after being repulsed from India in Cir* 457 A D by Skanda Gupta, were busy hammering against the Sassanian empire, and it was only after the death of Firuz in 484 A D, (long after the death of Skanda Gupta), that they could plan large-scale invasions of India Toramana's occupation of Malwa[3] must be dated after 484-85 A D, the date of Budha Gupta's Eran *inscription*,[4] *indeed much later, as some* time must have elapsed subsequent to the death of Firuz in 484 A D, in the invasion and occupation of the frontier kingdoms of India like Kabul and the adjoining territories governed by the Kuṣānas Therefore, Toramana's and Mihirakula's successful

1. Tawney (Penzer) *op cit* IX, p 1ff
2. CCGDBM pp 122 24ff
3. *C I. I No 36 pp 158 ff*
4. *Ibid*, No 19 pp. 90ff

violation of Indian territories may be safely put in the last decade of the fifth and early sixth centuries after Christ

The real sheet anchor of the theory of more than one Huna invasion in the time of Skanda Gupta and the alleged consequent loss of some parts of the empire was the numismatic argument that the heavy-weight coins of Skanda Gupta were debased and therefore issued during the later critical years of the reign, and that the elements responsible for this must have been the Hūnas Allan[1] supposed that there was a loss of some part of his Western dominions, besides troublous time in the later years of Skanda Gupta. Smith[2] believed that about A D 465 the Hūnas made themselves master of Gandhāra and in about 470 they attacked Skanda Gupta who was unable to successfully resist them It was the cost of the Huna-war which was responsible for the 'marked lowering of the purity of currency' Bannerji[3] echoed the same sentiments But the whole hypothesis is proved wrong by the British Museum laboratory's report on the coins of Skanda Gupta[4] and therefore there is no ground to imagine Hūna invasions during the later years of his reign to explain the alleged debasement of the heavy-weight coins of Skanda Gupta Moreover, it may be urged, just for argument, that even if there had been any regular debasement of currency, it is more reasonable to assign such a currency to the early years of his reign when we have positive evidence about the internal and external troubles facing Skanda Gupta

Some have tried to find support for the theory that the last days of Skanda Gupta were not happy from the Mandasore *inscription of Prabhākara, dated in the Malava* year 524 (=467-68 A. D)[5] The inscription mentions the early Gupta emperor Chandra Gupta II and his son Govinda Gupta It

1 CCGDBM p XLIX He refers to the depreciation in the purity of gold in the heavier standard coins, which he considered to be later in date *ibid* (XLVIII)

2 E I p 328

3 Bannerji, *op cit.* p 49

4 Appendix, I C

5 A S I A R 1922-23, p 187

records a donation by Prabhakara's commander in-chief. Dettabhata son of Vayurakṣita the general of Govinda Gupta The way in which Prabhakara is mentioned certainly suggests that he was a feudatory of the Guptas [1] From the inscription it is not clear whether Govinda Gupta was then alive and whether he was a paramount ruler Because Indra is referred to as being suspicious of Govinda Gupta Bhandarkar[2] suggested that "the latter seems to have been a supreme ruler " The allusion to Indra may be only conventional and Govinda Gupta may have been a high officer The non mention of Skanda Gupta's name in the inscription does not necessarily mean loss of his sovereignty in Western Malwa The Pali copper plate[3] found in a village close to Kosam in Allahabad district, and dated in 158 G E , belongs to Maharaja Lakṣmana who must have been a feudatory or an official under Budha Gupta, who was definitely master of this part of the country, but the inscription does not mention his name Moreover it may be pointed out that Kumara Gupta II, who followed Skanda Gupta, is referred to in the Mandasore stone inscription of Kumara Gupta and Bandhuvarman dated 472 3 A D [4]

It has been also suggested that during the last years of his reign Skanda Gupta lost Malwa to the Vakātakas The source of this inference is the Balaghat plates of Pṛthvisena II from this inscription we learn that the commands of Narendrasena father of Pṛthvisena were honoured by the lords of Kośala, Mekala and Malava [5] The Vakataka chronology is very much confused and it is not yet settled whether Narendrasena was a contemporary of Skanda Gupta R C Majumdar[6] after a *thorough discussion of the subject in view of recent addition to the knowledge placed Narendrasena in the period after 480*

1 E I XIX, Appendix p 2 Note 5
2 E I XIX Appendix p 2 Note 5
3 E I II pp 364ff
4 C I I III No 18 pp 79ff H R Jan 1918 pp 1ff
5 E I IX pp 267ff
6 J A S B L. (XII) pp 1ff

A. D. and thus makes him a contemporary of Budha Gupta. V. V. Mirashi,[1] another scholar, who has devoted much attention to the history of the Vākāṭakas, places the accession of Narendrasena in Cir. 450 A. D. It may be pointed out that Narendrasena was the maternal great-grandson of Chandra Gupta II, and therefore the Gupta contemporary of Narendrasena may not have been Skanda Gupta, the grandson of Chandra Gupta II, but Budha Gupta the great-grandson of Chandra Gupta II. Narendrasena may have taken advantage of the Hūna-raids in the early years of the 6th century A D., and while Toramāna made himself master of Eastern Malwa (Eran),[2] Western Malwa may have surrendered to Narendrasena. But if the dates proposed for Narendrasena are not acceptable, and an earlier date proposed by Mirashi is ascribed to him, in that case it is possible that during the invasions of the Hūnas and the internal dissensions in the Gupta empire immediately after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, Narendrasena extorted allegiance from Malwa temporarily of course. After his success against the Hūnas and his rivals to the throne Skanda Gupta must have recovered his Western province of Malwa. The Vākāṭakas lost their power; this is clear from the Bālāghāṭ inscription of Prithvisena who 'raised his sunken family.' Anyway, it should be accepted that there is no evidence that Malwa was lost to the Guptas in the later years Skanda Gupta. As we shall see, Malwa including its Western part (Mandasore) probably remained in the possession of Kumāra Gupta II, the successor of Skanda Gupta. In view of the points urged above *it should be safe to hold that in spite of troublous days in* his earlier years of rule, Skanda Gupta, for the larger part of his reign, presided over a peaceful and prosperous empire, and left to his successors a realm almost unreduced in extent.

1. A B. N. U. H. S Oct. 1946 pp 8ff
2. C I. I III No 36 pp. 158ff.

Kumāra Gupta II

Skanda Gupta was succeeded by Kumāra Gupta II of the Sārnath inscription [1] We have seen that it is not correct to identify him with Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal [2] The identification cannot stand in view of the discovery of the Nālandā seals of Budha Gupta[3] and Visnu Gupta[4]. Budha Gupta is a son of Puru Gupta,[5] and therefore it is more than improbable that Budha Gupta would succeed Visnu Gupta, his grand nephew, and rule for at least nineteen years It is physically impossible to cramp four reigns of four generations of fathers and sons—Puru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta—between 467-68 A D, the last known date of Skanda Gupta, and 476 A D the earliest known date of Budha Gupta

Therefore, we take Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnath inscription to be Kumāra Gupta II and he of the Bhitari and Nalandā seals becomes Kumāra Gupta III Kumāra Gupta II succeeded Skanda Gupta in *Cir.* 470 A. D, and according to the Sārnāth inscription he was ruling the earth in 473-74 A D[6] The relationship between Kumara Gupta II and Skanda Gupta is not known and equally obscure is the relationship existing between Kumara Gupta and Puru Gupta. He may have been a son of Puru Gupta or Skanda Gupta, more probably of the latter as in former case we will have to assume an abnormal situation that two sons of Puru Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Budha Gupta died childless to be followed by Narasimha Gupta, another son of Puru Gupta Skanda Gupta may have had a son who succeeded him as Kumāra Gupta II.

1 A. S I A. R 1914 15 p 123
2 J A S B LVIII pp 84ff
3 M A. S I No 66 p 64
4. E. I XXVI, pp 235ff
5 M A S I No 66 pp 64 ff I H Q XIX p 274, XX. pp 119ff
6 A. S I A R 1914 15 p 123

Coins of Kumara Gupta II

That there were two Kumāra Guptas, besides Kumāra Gupta I, is proved by numismatic evidence Allan[1] attributed all the Archer type of gold coins with the legend Ku or Kumāra Gupta to Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari seal These coins in view of their heavy weight and poor finish cannot be ascribed to Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya It is important to note (a fact so far ignored) that Allan distinguishes between two distinct classes of these coins, "(a) a small number of class I of *good gold* with traces of a marginal legend and of *style fairly good for the period*, and (b) class II of very rude workmanship and base metal some of which seem never to have had a marginal legend, e g. compare Nos 13 and 14 with No 15 of plate XXII "[2] These two classes of coins are so different from one another that the same authority opined that "these two classes are probably the issues of different districts "[3] We suggest that they are issues of two different rulers, the class I type belonging to Kumāra Gupta II (Sārnāth inscription) and Class II to Kumāra Gupta III of the Bhitarī and Nalanda seals. A careful perusal of the gold coins of the Archer type alleged to belong to Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta, leaves no doubt about the correctness of our conclusion .The class I of the Archer type is better in style, clearer in legend, lighter in weight and purer in metal than the class II ones[4] According to the generally accepted view that the heavier and baser coins are later in date than the lighter and finer ones, it is quite reasonable to assume that some interval of time must have elapsed between the issuing of the coins of the two classes For the period which Mr Allan a tributed to the coins, the class I type were, according to the scholar, 'of a style fairly good for the period' Actually the learned scholar was intuitively correct, as the

1 C C G D B M pp 140-43, p CIV
2 *Ibid*
3 *Ibid*
4. *Ibid* pp 140-143

class I type of coins do belong to an earlier period. At the time of the preparation of the Catalogue he could have no knowledge of the existence of another Kumara Gupta, other than the son of Narasimha Gupta, hence the attribution of the entirely two different types of coins to this Kumara Gupta alone Compared with the coins of Narasimha Gupta, the class I type of Kumara Gupta's coins are lighter in weight while class II type are heavier than the coins of Narasimha Gupta [1] Therefore it may be reasonably held that class I type were issued before the time of Narasimha Gupta by Kumara Gupta II, and the class II type, later than Narasimha Gupta, by his son Kumara Gupta III.

Our contention has been remarkably confirmed by chemical analysis of the coins On our request Mr J Allan sent the coins Nos 571 and 576 of the British Museum Catalogue to the laboratory to test the purity of gold in the coins Coin No 571 which belongs to class I type has 79% of gold, while No 576 of class II type has only 54% of gold [2] The obvious inference is that the two coins or rather the two classes of the coins under discussion were issued by two different kings of the same name at a considerable interval of time, this accounts for the great difference in the purity of the coins On the report from the laboratory Allan's remark is, "These show that you are right in attributing the base *Ku* coins to a Kumara Gupta III "[3] The very high percentage of gold in class I type of the coins at once fixes these in a period much earlier than Kumara Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta On this ground alone Kumara Gupta II cannot be placed much later than Skanda Gupta

Another equally important point is to be noticed The custom of engraving a single letter between the feet of the king on the obverse such as 'Ru', 'U', 'Gre', 'Go', 'Ja', 'Bha' etc ,

1 *Ibid* pp 137 143
2 Appendix Ia
3 *Ibid*

latter in time, as it does not appear on the coins of Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta II, Kumara Gupta I, and Skanda Gupta It occurs on the coins of Prakaśaditya, Narasimha Gupta, Visnu Gupta and on class II variety of coins under discussion It is certainly very significant that this practice is conspicuous by its absence on the class I type of Kumara Gupta's coins In the British Museum Catalogue there are only two coins of this type and on none of them is any single letter engraved between the feet of the king,[1] while on coins of class II group we have invariably either 'Go' or 'Ja' between the feet of the king on the obverse[2] This distinguishing feature gives additional weight to our point that the two types of the coins—class I and class II—were issued by two different rulers It may be, therefore, supposed that this practice of using a particular single letter in between the feet of the king on the obverse of the gold coins was begun by Prakāśaditya and was followed by Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta III and others[3] At any rate this particular point, noted above, should be regarded as another reason to hold that Kumāra Gupta, who issued the class I type of coins, preceded Narasimha Gupta, and should be identified with Kumāra Gupta of the Sarnāth inscription and be distinguished from Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitarī seal

No less significant fact is the difference in the palaeography of the inscription in the two types of the coins A look at the photographs of the three coins belonging to the two classes (under discussion) will substantiate the point The letter 'Ku' on No. 3 of the plate I is much different from the same letter in Nos 4 and 5 No 3 belongs to class I, while 4 and 5 belong to class II[4] The 'Ku' on 4 and 5 is much more deve-

1 C C G D B. M pp 170, PL. XXII 13 14

2 *Ibid* pp 141 143 PL. XXIII, 4

3 The rulers belong to Puru Gupta's line. Can this serve as an additional proof for our hypothesis that Kumara Gupta II belonged more probably to a line different from that of Puru Gupta?

4 Plate I, 3, 4, 5

loped in form than 'Ku' on No 3, and the difference in the character of the letter 'Ku' on the two types must be explained by an interval of time which may well have been about fifty years Allan[1] was right when he suggested that the coins of class I type appear to belong to an earlier period

The two classes of coins are so different in finish, style, purity of metal, legend on the inscription, and palaeography that except for the common reverse title 'Kramādityа', and 'Ku' on the obverse, there is nothing to take them as issued by one and the same king[2] A mere look at the coins under discussion will substantiate the point urged above Allan[3] points out the similarity in style, notably the treatment of the legs of the goddess on the reverse, between the coin of Ghatotkacha Gupta, and the class I type of coins of Kumāra Gupta II We have already placed Ghatotkacha Gupta in the period immediately after the death of Kumāra Gupta I, and therefore the class I type of the coins of Kumāra Gupta II must be placed nearer to Ghatotkacha Gupta in time than to the period of Naraṣimha Gupta's successor in the 6th century A D.

Thus, it should be now taken as an established fact that the numismatic evidences instead of knowing only one Kumāra Gupta besides Kumāra Gupta I[4] prove the existence of two Kumāra Guptas who must have been separated from one another by a period of about fifty years to allow the deterioration in the coinage and the development of the character 'Ku' We have already adduced other reasons to reject the identity of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārṇāth inscription with Kumāra Gupta of the Bhitari and Nālandā seals Numismatic considerations confirm our stand It is, therefore, clear that Kumāra

1 C C G D B M p CIV

2 P L Gupta (JNSI XII pp 1ff) points out that on class I type we have 'Kramaditya', on class II type we have Śri Kramaditya Then the Kalighat hoard had coins of Vainya Gupta Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta (class II type) and Visṇu Gupta, showing that they were successive rulers But coins of Kumara Gupta of class I type are from different sources

3 C C G D B M p CIV

4 I H Q XX pp 119ff

Gupta II succeeded Skanda Gupta and issued coins which are classified as Archer type of class I by Allan [1]

This Kumāra Gupta II Kramāditya of the coins is identical with Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription [2] He may be also identified with Śakrāditya of Yuan Chwang, as the builder of the Nālandā monastery,[3] and he is referred to as an old king or 'a former king' He has been generally identified with Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (=Śakrāditya) by scholars,[4] but the statement of the Chinese pilgrim that Budha Gupta succeeded Śakrāditya is more in conformity with our opinion that Kumāra Gupta II should be identified with Śakrāditya because Budha Gupta succeeded Kumara Gupta II It may not be impossible that Kumāra Gupta II may have imitated Kumāra Gupta I (his grandfather ?) by assuming the title of Śakrāditya It is also equally possible that Yuan Chwang may have confused the two Kumāra Guptas (he has certainly confused the chronology) and has given the tittle 'Śakrāditya' to Kumāra Gupta II, the title rightly belonged to Kumāra Gupta I Kumāra Gupta II was certainly interested in Budhism and the Sārnāth inscription[5] is a Budhist votive inscription belonging to the reign of Kumāra Gupta Thus, there is nothing which stands against the identification of Kumāra Gupta II with Śakrāditya of Yuan Chwang

Kumāra Gupta II continued to exercise his suzerainty over the Western districts of the empire It may be conceded that Valabhi may have been practically lost and Bhatārka may have

1. C C G D B M p 140

2. A. S. I A R , 1914 15 p 123.

3 Watters II pp 164 65, *The Life*, p 110 Introduction XXXVII, Records Vol II p 168

4 This supposed identity of Śakraditya with Kumāra Gupta I led Heras (J B O R S XIV, pp 1 ff) to identify Budha Gupta with Skanda Gupta It should be noted that the Chinese Chitsu' may not necessarily mean a son but a descendant (*The Life* p 110 Note. 4) As we know that Budha Gupta came after Kumara Gupta II, Śakraditya who preceded Budha Gupta should be identified with Kumara Gupta II Budha Gupta is not the son of Kumāra Gupta I Mahendraditya, but a son of Puru Gupta

5 A S I A. R, 1914 15 pp 123ff

founded the famous Maitraka dynasty which for a long time afterwards continued to respect formally the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors But there is clear evidence that Malwa was still under sphere of the Gupta empire The Mandasore inscription dated in the *Malava* years 493 and 529[1] refers to both Kumara Gupta I and Kumara Gupta II The inscription opens with the sentence, "when Kumara Gupta is ruling,' and then relates the history of the building of the temple in M E 493 and the passing away of many kings since that time to its repair in M E 529 (=472 73 A D) It has been suggested[2] with good reason that Kumara Gupta II is also referred to in the opening line besides Kumara Gupta I As both the building of the temple and its repairs were complete in the reigns of two kings each bearing the name of Kumara Gupta, the scribe saved repetition and also introduced an element of intelligent imagination by mentioning king Kumara Gupta only once The fact that the temple had been neglected and was repaired in M E 529 has led some to suggest that the damage was done by the Huna invasions But it is possible that the temple may have needed some repairs within 36 years of its construction The last years of Kumara Gupta were critical, and the years following his death were full of internal and external troubles The neglect of the repairs of the temple was, therefore, natural The reference about many kings having passed away between 436 37 and 472 73 A D does not necessarily suggest the Huna kings and Vakaṭaka rulers besides the successors of Kumara Gupta I The phrase may refer to Kumara Gupta I, Puru Gupta, (and possibly Ghaṭotkacha Gupta), and Skanda Gupta

The reign of Kumara Gupta II must have ended before 476 A D, when Budha Gupta is referred to as ruling the earth[3] That Kumāra Gupta II had a short reign is proved by the

1 C. I I III No. 18 pp 84ff

2 H R Jan. 1918 pp 1ff H N E I p 74 J B B R. A. S (N S) Vol. II p. 176 Sen Op Ci. p 229

3 A. S I A R. 1914 15 pp 124 26

existence of a small number of his coins, only two of his coins are in the British Museum.[1] His reign may have come to an end in *Cir.* 475 A. D. The end of his reign, in one sense, marks a turning point in the dynastic history of the imperial Guptas. The line of Skanda Gupta (?) came to an end, and Puru Gupta's descendants sat on the throne for the next three generations—Budha Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta (*son of Puru* Gupta), Kumāra Gupta III and Viṣṇu Gupta.

1. C C G D B M p. 140.

CHAPTER III

BUDHA GUPTA

The Accession of Budha Gupta

It is not known as to how the reign of Kumara Gupta II ended and that of Budha Gupta began There are two identical votive inscriptions, found at Sarnāth, dated in the current (Gupta) year 157, belonging to the time when "Budha Gupta was ruling the earth "[1] It is significant that the inscription of Kumāra Gupta II, dated in the year 154, was also found at Sārnāth, and all these three inscriptions were engraved for the same donor, Abhayamitra [2] Therefore it is clear that Budha Gupta followed Kumāra Gupta in or before 476 A D, say in 475 A D The exact circumstances in which the line of Puru Gupta recaptured the throne are not known The allusion to Budha Gupta seizing the throne after Śakraditya (Kumāra Gupta II) in the *life*[3] may suggest that Budha Gupta might have acquired the throne after some sort of *coup d'état* He may have overthrown Kumāra Gupta II, whose short reign then becomes explicable Dr D C. Sircar holds that the name of the reigning Gupta emperor is not given in the Mandasore inscription of Malava year 493 and 529[4], and, therefore, he suggests an explanation that "about 473 A D a struggle for the Gupta imperial throne was going on and the author avoided the mention of the reigning Gupta emperor owing to the confusion caused by it [5] As in the year 473-74 A D (G E 154), Kumāra Gupta II was ruling the earth,[6] it is not likely that

1 A S I A R 1914 15, pp 124 25 The expression '*Samatikkrante*' suggests that the Gupta year 157 was current, usually, the inscriptions are dated in "the years having passed "

2 *Ibid* p 126

3 The *Life*, p 110

4 C I I III, pp 84ff

5 S I I. p 295 Note 4

6. A S I A R 1914 15, p 124

any contest for the throne had begun in 473 A D However, it is possible that the change of line effected by Budha Gupta may have preceded some struggle

His Parentage

Budha Gupta is regarded by some[1] to be a son of Kumara Gupta I on the basis of Yuan Chwang's statement[2] that Budha was a descendant of Śakraditya But we have seen that Śakraditya of Yuan Chwang may be Kumara Gupta II Some[3] have thrown a hint that Budha Gupta may have been a son of Kumara Gupta II of the Sarnath inscription But all these speculations should be set at rest in view of the discovery of the Nalanda seal of Budha Gupta[4] The inscription makes it clear that Budha Gupta was a son of Puru Gupta The seal, which traces the genealogy of Budha Gupta from Śri Gupta, proves that Budha Gupta belonged to the imperial Gupta family, and not to the alleged local Gupta dynasty of Eastern Malwa as Allan[5] suggested The Nalanda seal is described as 'elliptical, raised border, nearly one half of the seal broken and loose, proper left showing full face and the left side of the plumage of the man bird Garuda above two straight lines below which comes the legend'[6] A comparative study of the photograph of the seal with those of the other royal seals of Narasimha Gupta and Kumara Gupta III[7] makes it clear that Budha Gupta of the seal was a royal personage belonging to the dynasty of the imperial Guptas whose genealogy is known from the Bhitari[8] and Nalanda seals[9] It is true that the vital portion of the

1 P H A I (4th Edn) p 365
2 The *Life* p 115 The Record II p 168
3 A. S I A R 1914 15 p 126
4 M A S I No 66 p 64
5 CCGDBM p 153
6 M A S I No 66 p 64
7 *Ibid* pp 64 ff and Pl VIII a—c
8 J A S B *LVIII pp 88ff*
9 M A. S I No 66 pp 64ff

legend on the seal which contained the relationship between Puru Gupta and Budha Gupta is irreparably damaged, but the seal, being elliptical in shape, had shorter lines in the end, and nothing much could have been there between '*tasya putra*' (end of the 6th line), and '*Mahādevyam utpannah*' (the end of the 7th) and *Budha Guptah* (8th line),[1] except the name of the chief queen of Puru Gupta (Chandradevi) and the usual imperial titles to Budha Gupta Dr. D C Sircar[2] has shown that "there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the names of Puru Gupta and Budha Gupta," and that '*there is hardly any doubt regarding their relationship as indicated by the words* 'putra' occurring at the end of the line 6" A Ghosh[3] restores the lines 7 and 8 as such "*Syaputtras=tat—padanudhyāta Mahadevyam (Chandradevyīm) utpannaḥ (paramabhagavata Maharajadhiraja sri)* "*Budhaguptah*" Therefore it is proved that Budha Gupta was the son of Puru Gupta and Mahadevī Chandradevi. Budha Gupta of the seal is certainly Budha Gupta of the Sārnath inscription,[4] the Eran Inscription,[5] the Dāmodarpur copper plate inscription,[6] and the coins[7] His last known date is 175 (G E) (=494-95 A D) found on a silver coin[8]

Extent of Empire

Budha Gupta ruled over a fairly extensive empire From his Eran stone pillar inscription dated G. E 165 (=484 85 A D),[9] we learn that "while Budha Gupta was king (nripa)," Mahāraja Suraśmichandra was the Governor of the country

1 *Ibid* p 64
2 I H Q XIX p 274
3 *Ibid* XX pp 119 ff
4 A S I A R 1914 15 pp 124 25
5 C I I III, No 19 pp 90ff
6 E I XV p 144
7 C C G D B M p 153
8 *Ibid* p 153, No. 617
9 C I I III, No 19 pp 90ff

between the Kālındı and the Narmadā The Khoh copper plate ınscrıptıons of Mahāraja Hastın[1], dated ın the G E 156 and 163, 'ın the enjoyment of the sovereıgnty of the Guptas,' must have belonged to the tıme of Budha Gupta The ınscrıptıons of the Uchchhakalpa Maharaja Jayanātha, dated ın the year 174 and 177[2], should be assıgned to the Gupta era,[3] and durıng thıs perıod, whıch falls ın the tıme of Budha Gupta, Jayanātha must have been the feudatory of the Guptas Sılver coıns of Budha Gupta have on the observe head to the rıght wıth date ın front and on the reverse ıs the peacock wıth wıngs and taıl outstretched The legend on the coıns ıs *"Vıjıtavanıravanı patı (h) Śrı Budhagupta dıvı (dıvam) jayatı*[4] The legend shows hıs claım to be the lord of the earth and has been found on the coıns of Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta, whıch he ımıtated[5] The nature and the legend of the sılver coıns of Budha Gupta clearly connect hım wıth the ımperıal Guptas, and the connectıon ıs confırmed by hıs Nalanda seal[6] whıch shows that he was a son of Puru Gupta Two Dāmodarpur copper-plates,[7] one of whıch ıs dated ın the year 163[8] (=482-3 A D), wıth hıgh ımperıal tıtles, '*Paramadaıvata Paramabhatta*

1 *Ibıd* No 21, pp 93 ff, No 22 pp 101ff

2 *Ibıd* Nos 26, 27

3 There ıs some controversy about the era ın whıch the ınscrıptıons of the Uchchhakalpa Maharajas ıs dated Kıelhorn took the era to be the Kala churı era (E I V App p 55) Bhandarkar held the same opınıon (*Ibıd* XIX App Note 5 p 159) But the facts that the terrıtorıes of the Uchchhakalpa Maharajas were adjacent to those of the Parıvrajaka Mahārajas who used the Gupta era and were feudatorıes of the Guptas and that Hastın and Sarvanatha were contemporarıes (C I I III No 24) raıse a strong pre sumptıon that the Uchchhakalpa Maharajas also dated theır ınscrıptıons ın the Gupta era Ojha and Halder (E I XIX p 127) held that the era used was the Gupta era Dıkshıt (*Ibıd* phareXXI pp 127ff) has met the objectıons of Bhandarkar and has shown that ıt ıs ımpossıble to date the Uchchhakalpa ınscrıptıons ın the Kalachurı era The Mahamagha Samvatsara of the Bhumara Pıllar ınscrıptıon must have happened ın 508 A D V V Mırashı (E I XXIII pp 171ff) has gıven addıtıonal reasons ın favour of the theory that the Gupta era ıs used ın the ınscrıptıons of the Uchchhakalpa Maharajas

4 C C G D B M p 153

5 *Ibıd* p LXII

6 M A S I No 66 p 64

7 E I XV p 114

8 S I I p 324

raka mahārājadhiraja Śri Budhagupta prithvipati" have been found at Damodarpur in the Dinajpur district of North Bengal At the same place two inscriptions of Kumara Gupta I[1] have been found with the similar imperial titles and context Therefore these inscriptions of the time of Budha Gupta, closely following those of Kumāra Gupta I, prove that the authority of the Guptas and the character of the administration in North Bengal continued almost unaffected in the time of Budha Gupta The fourth Damodarpur copper-plate which belongs to the time of Budha Gupta[2] refers to a temple (?) of Kokāmukhasvāmi D C Sircar[3] regarded Kokāmukha to be a form of Śiva Basak[4] took it to be a form of Durga Raychaudhuri[5] believes that it was a form of Varaha incarnation of Visnu Both Sircar and Raychaudhuri agree in placing the tirtha in the Himalayan region It may therefore be assumed that the Pundravardhana bhukti in the time of Budha Gupta extended up to the Himalayas in the North, and might have included Nepal where is situated Varahaksetra, which has been identified with Kokamukhasvāmi tirtha[6] Thus it is clear that Budha Gupta continued to exercise his sway in the eastern-most province of the Gupta empire His Sarnath inscriptions[7] found on the pedestals of two beautiful Buddha images, and dated in 157 G. E (=A D 476), prove his rule in the eastern Uttara Pradesha Mahāraja Laksmana of the Pali copper plate, dated 158 Samvat,[8] found near Kosam in the district of Allahabad, and assigned to the 5th century A D on the basis of palaeographic considerations, may be safely regarded as a feudatory or a high official of Budha Gupta, and similarly the Paharpur copper plate

1 E I. XV pp 110ff
2 *Ibid* p 115
3 S I I p. 328
4 E. I XV p 115
5 B C Law Volume, I pp 88ff
6 I H Q XXI pp 56ff
7 A S I A R, 1914 15 pp 124 25
8 E I II p 364

grant[1] of the year 159, found in Paharpur in Rajshahi district of Bengal, should be attributed to the period of Budha Gupta's sway in Northern Bengal The Nandapur copper-plate of the Gupta year 169[2] proves the continuance of the Gupta rule in Bengal The plate was found at Nandapura in the district of Monghyr (Bihar) The seal of Budha Gupta found in Nalanda[3] suggests his authority over Magadha He should be certainly identified with 'Buddha (Budha) Gupta' who built another Sangharama at Nalanda [4] His liberal attitude to Buddhism is further testified by the fact that two votive images of the Buddha[5] were donated during the period of his rule

Thus the find spots of the inscriptions, seal, and the coins prove that the territories over which Budha Gupta ruled were fairly extensive, and it is not correct to take him to belong to a local dynasty of Malwa The style of the inscriptions, the legend on the coins, and the contents of the seal prove that Budha Gupta belonged to the imperial Gupta dynasty and was a son of Puru Gupta The empire of Budha Gupta certainly extented from the Himalayas to the Eastern Malwa and from the Eastern Punjab to Bengal Cunningham, the doyen of Indian research and archaeology, had instinctively approached the truth, when he observed that "this vast empire was possessed by four (?) Gupta princes—the predecessors of Budha Gupta and there is sufficient evidence to prove that his sway was equally extensive he is called in the Eran pillar inscription, the king of the beautiful country between the Kalindi and the Narmada, and his silver coins are of the Gupta style of the Sahs of Surāṣṭra, which was used by his predecessors "[6]

1 *Ibid* pp 59 60
2 *Ibid* XXIII p 52f
3 M A S I No 66 p 64
4 The *Life* p 110 Note 4
5 A S I A R 1914 15 pp 124 25
6 Bhilsa Topes p 163

Gold Coins of Budha Gupta

Budha Gupta was an imperial ruler who ruled over almost the whole of the Gupta empire administered by his predecessors When we have gold coins of his successors Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta III and Visnu Gupta, it really sounds strange that no gold coins belonging to Budha Gupta were known He issued silver coins in the style of Kumāra Gupta I and Skanda Gupta Therefore he must have issued gold coins The attempt to read 'Budha' on the coins of 'Puru' has been already discussed Recently two gold coins of Budha Gupta with the *Viruda* Śri Vikramah have been found The weight of one coin is 144 5 grains [1]

Last years of Budha Gupta

Budha Gupta presided over a fairly extensive empire and issued gold and silver coins The last known date of Budha Gupta is 175 G E [2] (=494-95 A D), and therefore his reign may have come to an end in *Cir* 496 A D. He maintained almost the whole of Gupta empire intact, except Surāṣtra which became practically independent under Bhatarka Therefore the view that "when Skanda Gupta passed away in 467 A D, the empire perished"[3] cannot be tenable, nor can we believe in "the rapid decadence of Gupta sovereignty after Skanda Gupta's death"[4] The theory of the break up of the Gupta empire in the later years of Skanda Gupta due to repeated and successive Hūṇa invasions must be given up, and there is no real basis to support the alleged hypothesis by believing in a debased currency of Skanda Gupta in his later years There is no appreciable debasement in the heavy weight coins of Puru Gupta, Skanda Gupta and Kumara Gupta II There is no reason why we should place the heavy-weight coins of

1 J N S I XII pt II pp 112ff
2 C C G D B M p 153 No 617.
3 E H I p 328
4 Dandekar, *op ci* p 118

Skanda Gupta in the later years of his reign The empire, which Skanda Gupta ruled over, was practically undiminished down to the time of Budha Gupta, except for the extreme Wes tern provinces of Surastra and Cutch, though at the same time it is to be admitted that the Maitrakas of Valabhi did not assume imperial titles in deference to their traditional Gupta overlords The type of the silver coins of Budha Gupta certainly proves that his authority was recognised in Central India The Hunas reappear *in Indian history during the end of the fifth or the* beginning of the sixth century A D Toramana's undated Eran inscription belonging to the first year of his reign[1] must be placed after the Earn inscription of Budha Gupta dated 484-85 A D [2] but belonging to the same generation, and therefore may be put in the last years of Budha Gupta or soon after his death The Huna occupation of Malwa must have happened after the death of Budha Gupta or shortly before it

Budha Gupta was, then, undoubtedly last of the great imperial Guptas, and when he died, the empire declined rapidly It is true that Gupta dynasty continued some time longer, but the Gupta empire was a mere shadow of its past giant structure The decline that set in, soon after his death or immediately before it, continued unabated, centrifugal tendencies reappeared on the scene and coinciding with foreign invasions and internal dissensions corroded the vitality of the empire. The imperial dynasty of the great Guptas had finished its role, and the law of compensation was at its work leading to the rise of other powers in the country So the death of Budha Gupta constitutes a turning point in the history of the empire and India.

1 C. I. I. III, No. 36 pp. 158

2 *Ibid.* No. 19, pp. 88

CHAPTER IV

SUCCESSORS OF BUDHA GUPTA

The death of Budha Gupta in Cir 496 A D marks the end of an epoch and the beginning of another The age of the imperial Guptas is over, and though the dynasty lingered on, the empire passed away. The historic role of Magadha as the centre of Indian history was suspended for some time, and other powers and personalities outside Magadha dominated the scene The empire practically broke up, and local dynasties in Kanauj, Thaneśvara, Valabhi, Malwa and even in Magadha rushed forth to fill the vacuum India, again, witnessed the unhappy spectacle of warring states at a time when the foreigners—the Hūnas were desecrating the holy land Magadha, the pride of ancient India and the Saviour of the Country many times in her critical history, was laid low, exhausted But her eclipse was temporary, and some time afterwards she put forth great efforts to regain her due position in comity of Indian states However, there is no denying the fact that her best days—the years of the Mauryas' and the imperial Guptas' rule were over, and the later history of Magadha read in contrast to Mauryan greatness and Gupta splendour reads like a parody of its own past

A Narasimha Gupta.

Budha Gupta was succeeded by his brother Narasimha Gupta, son of Puru Gupta and Mahadevi Chandradevi [1] He has been rightly identified with the ruler who issued gold coins of the Archer-type on suvarna standard with the legend 'Nara' on the obverse and 'Śri Balādityah' on the reverse [2] The full name, Narasimha Gupta is preserved in the marginal inscriptions of

1 Hoernle read the name of the queen of Puru Gupta as Vatsadevi (J A S B LVIII p 89), Hirananda Sastri read it as Vainyadevi on the Nalanda seals (M A S I No 66 p 65), N P Chakravarty corrected the reading as Chandradevi (A S I A R 1934 35 p 63)

2 C I M , I pp 119 20

the better preserved specimens[1] From a comparison of the coins of Budha Gupta with those of the coins of Narasimha Gupta it is clear that the latter followed the former's coinage. We have two fragmentary seals of Narasimha Gupta from Nalanda,[2] and they contain the genealogy from Maharāja Śri Gupta down to Puru Gupta, whose son was Narasimha Gupta, the author of the seals These seals also appear to have been decorated with the Garuda symbol[3]

Identical with Baladitya of Paramārtha

Narasimha Gupta Baladitya is the Baladitya, son of Vikramaditya of Ayodhyā (Puru Gupta), and the patron of Vasubandhu *according to Paramārtha*[4] *Takakusu*[5] *has fixed the* date of Vasubandhu to be *Cir* 420 500 A D Vamana,[6] a writer of the 8th century A D mentions Vasubandhu as a sachivya of the son of Chandra Gupta Pathak[7] has rightly identified the latter with Kumara *Gupta I, son of Chandra* Gupta II

1 C C G D B M, p 137 Nos 558 560

2 M A S I No 66, p 65, *Plate VIII b c*

3 *Ibid* Plate VIII b c

4 J R A S 1905 pp 33ff

5 *Ibid* *There is almost an unending controversy about the date of* Vasubandhu and his patron H P Shastri thought that Chandra Gupta II *Vikramaditya and his son Kumara* Gupta I (Baladitya =*young son*) *were* the patrons of Vasubandhu (J A S B I (N S) p 253) According to D R Bhandarkar Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya was the patron of Vasubandhu, and Govinda Gupta was the Baladitya (I A XLI p 1) V A Smith agreeing with M Neol Puri held that the Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta were the Vikramaditya and Baladitya patrons of Vasubandhu (E H I pp 346-47) According to Pathak Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Kumara *Gupta I Skanda Gupta and Narasimha Gupta (I A XL pp 170-71)*

6 Scholars are divided as to whether the word Vasubandhu occurs in a passage of Vamana s Kavyalankara sutra vritti Pathak (I A. XL, pp 170 71, J B B R A S XXIII p 185 IA XLI, pp 244 ff) and Hoernle (I A. XL p 264) read the name Vasubandhu while H P Shastri (I A XLI pp 1ff J A S B I (N S) p 253) Narasimhachari (I A XL p 312) and Rangaswami *Sarasvati (I A LIII, p 8)* read *Subandhu* instead We have followed Pathak and Hoernle Watters (Vol I p 211) *has distinguished between this Vasubandhu and the Buddhist of the same* name who is the 21st Patriarch of the Buddhist Church

7 I A XL *pp 170-71*

Vikramaditya Hoernle[1] has aptly pointed out that the word 'sachivya' may *mean companionship, not necessarily* a minister Kumāra Gupta's interest in Buddhism may be inferred from the Mankuwar stone image inscription of the year 129[2] (=448 49 A D), wherein we find invocation to the Buddha and setting up of a Buddha image by Buddhamitra, who is identified[3] with Buddhamitra, teacher of Vasubandhu Yuan Chwang[4] refers to a Vikramaditya of Śravasti, and he is the same person as the Vikramaditya of Ayodhyā in the account of Paramartha [5] This Vikramaditya of Ayodhyā, whom Takakusu identified with Skanda Gupta,[6] has been rightly identified with Puru Gupta Vikramāditya by Allan,[7] Puru Gupta became a patron of Buddhism by the influence of Vasubandhu This is very probable as during his last years Kumāra Gupta appears to have *shown sympathy towards Buddhism and Vasubandhu* was his companion, and so Puru Gupta may have been influenced by the master mind, Vasubandhu From the account of Paramārtha[8] we learn that that Vikramaditya (Puru Gupta) held discussions on Buddhism at his court, Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu, was worsted in dispute by Vindhyavasa in the court of the Vikramāditya The story in some modified form is related by Yuan Chwang [9] In the discussion held at the court of the Vikramāditya (Puru Gupta) Manoratha, the teacher of Vasubandhu, was not given a hearing, and so he (Manoratha) cut out his tongue and wrote a warning to his disciple Vasubandhu "A short time afterwards Vikramaditya-rajā lost his kingdom", and "was succeeded by a monarch who widely patronised those

1 *Ibid* p 264.
2 C I I III No 11 pp 45ff
3 I A XLI pp 244 ff
4 Watters I, p 212
5 J R A S 1905 p 35
6 *Ibid*
7 C C G D B M p Li
8 J R A S 1905 pp 33ff
9 The Records I, pp 107 109

distinguished for literary merit, and in the assembly held under his patronage Vasubandhu defeated his rivals and exhibited afresh the four conclusions of his master, the monarch may have been Skanda Gupta who had ousted Puru Gupta Vasubandhu had earned great fame and he wrote many Śastras chief among which was Abhidharmakosa When Narasimha Gupta Baladitya came to the throne, he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhya [1] It was at this time that Sanghabhadra challenged Vasubandhu, who came to Madhyadesa[2] i e Ayodhya at the court of Baladitya Vasubandhu who died at the age of 80 was thus a contemporary of Kumara Gupta I, Puru Gupta, Skanda Gupta, Kumara Gupta II, Budha Gupta and Narasimha Gupta It was in the time of his pupil Narasimha Gupta that Vasubandhu died in *Cir* 500 A D

Bala of the Ārya Manjusri mula kalpa

Narasimha Gupta Baladitya is certainly the Bala of the MMK He is said to have decorated the coast up to the sea with "chaityas, monasteries, gardens, pavilions, bridges and roads and worshipped Buddha's images[3] It is important to note in this connection that in his Nalanda seal[4] he is described as '*Paramabhagavata*' and the seal has the image of Garuda with outstretched wings It proves that though Narasimha Gupta Baladitya was an active patron of Buddhism, he continued to be called '*Pramabhāgavata*' in conformity with the tradition of his ancestors, therefore in his official seal he has Garuda symbol He is the Parameśvara Baladitya of the Deo-Baranark inscription,[5] which shows that he made a grant of the village Varunika to the temple of Varunasvami It is relevant to point out that while in the Gunaigarh ins ription Vainya

1 J R A S 1905 pp 33ff
2 The Records I pp 190-2
3 I H I p 33
4 M A S I No 66 p 65 Pl VIII b and c
5 C I I III No 46 pp 213ff

Gupta is described as a devotee of 'Mahadeva'[1] in his Nālandā seal[2] he is called 'Paramabhagavata' It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the epithet '*Paramabhagavata*' had become almost a part and parcel of the official titles of the Gupta emperors, devotion to Visnu had become a family religion, and *even when some of the Gupta princes showed strong favours to* other deities or religion, in their official seals they continued the family symbol of Garuda and the epithet '*Paramabhagavata*' Therefore, the fact that on his seal Narasimha Gupta is described as '*Paramabhagavata*' *is not enough to regard the claim* made by the Chinese Pilgrim that Narasimha Gupta was a devout Buddhist[3] as contradictory[4] to his Nalanda seal, or to dub as 'an absurdity'[5] the statement of Paramartha that Bāladitya was a *pupil of Vasubandhu Baladitya was certainly a Buddhist* according to Yuan Chwang,[6] Paramartha,[7] and the author of the Ārya-Mañjuśrī mūla kalpa,[8] and thus Bālāditya was certainly Narasimha Gupta

Extent of Empire

Narasimha Gupta's coins were found in Oudh[9] and a large number of them were in the Kalighaṭ hoard [10] One gold coin was recovered from Rānaghāt in the Nadia district [11] Several coins of this king are said to be included in the Nahar collection and the cabinet of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad of Calcutta [12]

1 I H Q VI pp 45ff
2 M A S I No 66 p 67, Pl VIII
3 The Records I, p 168
4 J U P H S XVII Pl 2 pp 34ff
5 B C. Law Volume, Pl I, pp 617ff
6 The Records I, p 168
7 J R A S, 1905 pp 33ff
8 I H I p 33
9 J A S B LVII p 155.
10 CCGDBM p 138, Note 1
11 Pro A S B 1886, p 65
12 E I XVIII p 81

One coin was found in the Birbhum district of Bengal Allan[1] distinguishes two classes in the Archer type of gold coins of Narasimha Gupta Class II coins are of very rude fabric without obverse marginal legend[2] Two coin-moulds of Narasimha Gupta's Archer-type coins have been found at Nalanda[3] His two fragmentary seals have been also found at Nalanda[4] Yuan Chwang[5] *informs us that Bāladitya built a temple at* Nalanda, and he fought Mihirakula From the Deo-Baranark inscription we know that he ruled over the present district of Shahabad, as the village was situated in the Nagara bhukti (Pataliputra) The inscriptions of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas dated in 191,[6] 198[7] 199[8] G E, 'in the enjoyment of the sovereignty of the Guptas', prove that the Gupta sovereignty continued in Central India

Thus from the distribution of his coins, seals, and inscriptions and also from references in literature about him, it may be readily assumed that Narasimha Gupta ruled from Oudh to Bengal One of his headquarters was Ayodhyā.[9] We [illegible] none of his silver coins, and this suggests that he [illegible] control the Western province and most of the [illegible] The Parivrajaka Mahārājas used the Gupta era, [illegible] tion of the Gupta emperor in their [illegible] their recognition of Gupta suzerainty was [illegible] was lost by the Guptas with the death of [illegible] in *Cir* 470 A D, and Senāpati Bhatārka [illegible] an independent dynasty at Valabhi [illegible] rulers of Valabhi continued to use the G[illegible] titles of

1. CCGGDBM pp 137 38
2. CCGDBM pp 137-838,
3. A S I A R 1935 36, [illegible] was [illegible] cast (The Technique of [illegible] p [illegible])
4. M A S I No. 60 [illegible]
5. Watters I pp. [illegible]
6. C I I III No. [illegible]
7. E I XXI p. [illegible]
8. *Ibid* VIII p. [illegible]
9. J R A. S., [illegible]

Mahārāja and Mahāsamanta [1] The phrase '*Paramabhaṭṭaraka Padanudhyāta*' occurs in the inscriptions of Dhruvasena I, who ruled till at least 545 A D. Besides Suraṣtra Mālwa was lost to the Hunas, as the Eran stone inscription of the first year of the reign of Toramāna,[2] must have closely followed the Eran stone inscription of Budha Gupta dated 484 85 A D [3] If the Vakātaka Narendrasena was a contemporary of Budha Gupta, it is possible that he may have raided Malwa soon after the death of Budha Gupta or in the last years of the latter's reign

It is therefore clear that though Narasimha Gupta ruled over a fairly extensive empire from Oudh to Bengal, there is no doubt that the empire was showing signs of disintegration To make matters worse, while the king was proving an ardent disciple of Vasubandhu and was busy in organising learned discussions, and building monastaries and chaityas all over the land, the flood of the Hūna invasions swept over the country, and for a time submerged even the home provinces of Magadha

The Hunas under Toramāna

The Ephthalites or the White Hūnas were pressing against Persia for some time, and in resisting them Firuz lost his life in A D 484[4] This success of the Hūnas was followed by their occupation of the frontier kingdoms of India ruled by Kusana princes, and then they poured into India[5] From the Eran stone inscription of Budha Gupta we know that in 165 G E (=484 85 A D) Budha Gupta was the sovereign of Eastern Malwa, and Maharaja Matṛivisnu and his younger brother Dhanyavisnu erected the flag-staff of Janardana,[6] but

1 I H Q IV pp 453 ff
2 C I I III No 36 pp 158 59
3 *Ibid* No 19 pp 90ff
4 E H I p 334
5 *Ibid* J B B R A S XXIV pp 539ff
6 C I I III, No 19 pp 90ff

the Eran stone-Boar inscription of Toramana[1] informs us that Dhanyavisnu (younger brother of Matrivisnu, who was then dead) constructed the temple of Nārayana in the form of Boar in his own visaya of Airikinā (Eran) during the first year of the rule of Mahārājadhiraja Toramana *Unfortunately the inscription is not dated in any specific era, but there can be* no doubt that it must belong to the same generation as the Eran stone inscription of Budha Gupta, but certainly later than that

The Hunas were in possession of Gandhara during the later half of the 5th Century A D. Sung Yün who started from China in 517 18 A D, speaks of the Kingdom of Gandhāra destroyed by the ye thas (White Hūnas), and the setting up of Lae-lih as their King These events are said to have happened two generations ago[2] Lae-lih might have been father of Toramāna, who led the Hūnas into India and succeeded in occupying Malwa by *Cir* 500 A. D The Eran Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Goparaja dated in 191 G E. (=510-11 A D)[3] does not necessarily mean that "Malwa was not occupied by the Hunas up to 510 A D,"[4] The *inscription may* suggest an unsuccessful resistance to the Hūnas' occupation of Malwa From his strategic base in Malwa Toramana could *easily try too probe the defences of the Gupta* empire towards Surastra in the West and the Eastern provinces of the empire in the North East

Practically independent but formally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Guptas, the Maitrakas of Valabhi appear to have successfully saved their kingdom from the ravages of the Mlechchhas, and this must have won the admiration and gratitude of their formal overlord, Narasimha Gupta, the then reigning Gupta emperor The Valabhi grant dated in the year 183

1 *Ibid* No 36 p 158ff
2 The Records I, Intro p XCIX
3 C. I I *III No* 20 p 23
4 I H I p 40

(=502 3 A D) of Mahārāja Drona Simha, who succeeded his brother Senāpati Dharasena, son of Senāpati Bhatārka, describes Drona Simha as 'meditating on the feet of his supreme lord '[1] It is to be borne in mind that this is the only known grant of Mahārāja Drona Simha, and in the grant of his successor, Maharaja Dhruvasena I dated in the year 207 (=526 27 A D), Drona Simha is stated to have been installed as Maharāja by 'the Supreme Lord, the sole Lord, the sole lord of the circumference of the whole world '[2] This statement is repeated in the other Valabhi grants of his successors The Maliyā copper-plate inscription of Maharaja Dharasena II dated in the year 252 (=571-72 A D) speaks of Mahārāja Drona Simha as one "who was installed in the royalty by besprinkling performed by the paramount master in person, the sole lord of the circumference of the territory of the whole world '[3] The expression also occurs in the Watson Museum plates of Dharasena II dated in the year 270 G E (=589 90 A. D)[4] and in other inscriptions[5] It is, therefore, clear that the fact of Drona Simha being installed as Mahārāja by the paramount overlord in person was considered to be of profound importance in the dynastic history of the Maitrakas of Valabhi and it is certainly significant that in all the grants of the dynasty Drona Simha is the first member to be honoured with the honorific 'Mahāraja'

Who was the overlord who installed Drona Simha as Maharaja in person? Jackson[6] considered him to be a predecessor of Yaśodharman of Malwa, "a state which was rising at that period" Fleet[7] took the overlord of Drona Simha to be

1 J B B R A S XX, pp 1f

2 Bhagavanlal, History of Guzerat, p 68

3 C I I III No 38 p 164ff '*Akhilabhuvanamaṇḍalabhogaikasvamina paramasvamina svayamupahita rajyabhiṣekaḥ*

4 I H Q IV p 283

5 J B B R A S I (N S) pp 16ff

6 *Ibid* XX p 3 4

7 I A XV p 187

Yaśodharman G Hoernle[1] rightly pointed out that "Yasodharman was hardly in power at that time" In Cunningham's[2] opinion Budha Gupta was the overlord of Drona Simha The last known date of Budha Gupta is 494 95 A D, and the only known inscription of Drona Simha is dated in 502 3 A D He was preceded by his brother Dharasena and father Bhatarka The Maitraka Kingdom may have been founded by Bhatarka between 470 75 A D It is very possible that when Drona Simha was installed as Maharaja in or shortly before 502 3 A D, Budha Gupta was dead, and his successor Narasimha Gupta was on the throne The Gupta emperor might have taken the trouble of personally visiting Valabhi and coronating Drona Simha as Maharaja as a reward for his successful resistance to the Hunas The event may also be interpreted as a diplomatic move of Narasimha Gupta to rally round him the rising and erstwhile independent dynasty of the Maitrakas of Valabhi It is quite reasonable to suppose that the rise of the Maitrakas was at the expense of the Gupta empire, and it was certainly a good stroke of diplomacy on the part of Narasimha Gupta to reckon with the fact and personally go to invest Drona Simha as a recognised Maharaja, practically independent but owing allegiance to the Gupta emperors just in the same way as the Parivrajaka Maharajas There is no positive authority to suppose that any king of Malwa was overlord of Valabhi The rise of Yaśodharman of Mandasore stone inscriptions[3] must be placed much later than the known date of Maharaja Drona Simha and the earliest known date of Dhruvasena I We do not know anything about the predecessor of Yaśodharman and his father was certainly too humble a man to be mentioned in the inscription of his son, and therefore he could hardly be the '*Akhilabhuvanamandalabhogaekasvāmi* of the Valabhi inscriptions The nature of the grant of Drona Simha, the address to the

1 J A S B LVIII p 97
2 Bhilsa Topes pp 162 63
3 C I I III Nos 33 and 35 pp 147ff

officers, the regulation of supplies, etc, and the quotation from Vyasa, all are *in complete harmony with, or rather are imitations* of usual Gupta grants The fact that all the Valabhi grants from the earliest times onwards are dated in the Gupta era certainly raises a *strong presumption that the Maitrakas* rose as feudatories or subordinates to the imperial Guptas, and the tradition was continued to the days when the Gupta empire was a memory of the past [1] Therefore it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the paramount lord who invested Drona Simha was the Gupta emperor Narasimha Gupta Hoernle[2] has aptly observed that "the simple reference to the paramasvāmin' or paramount master, is more easily explainable if applied to the old accustomed suzerain power of the Guptas than to a new emperor like Yaśodharman " We have seen that the Gupta empire did not pass away with the death of Skanda Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, in the early years of his rule was acknowledged emperor over a fairly wide extent of territory and was not a petty ruler of Magadha. The clouds were threatening but had not yet burst. Therefore, Narasiṁha Gupta may have had the *the satisfaction to be invoked* as an overlord in a distant province like Valabhi

It is to this period of comparative peace and prosperity that the class I gold *coins of Archer type* belonging to Narasimha Gupta[3] should be assigned. These coins are far better in purity than those of class II type The coin No 560 (B M. C) belonging to class I has 71% of gold, while coin No 565 (B. M C) belonging to class II has only 54% of gold [4] Cunningham[5] refers to an embassy to China sent by

1 Such a thing was very common in the history of the later Mughals after the death of Aurangzeb

2 J A S B LVIII p 97, Budha Prakasa (A B O R I XVIII p 133) takes Vainya Gupta to be the overlord of Drona Simha. Dandeker (*op cit* pp 147 177) comes to the same conclusion We have placed Vainya Gupta later than 502 A D (see *infra*)

3 CCGDBM p 137

4 Appendix Ia

5 Bhilsa Topes p 162

the King of India, named Ken-to (i e Gutta or Gupta) in 502 A D The description of the 'Kingdom of India' in the Chinese Record leaves no doubt that it meant the Gupta empire with Magadha as the centre and 'including all the *tributary provinces between the Himālayas and the Vindhya*' Cunningham[1] took the 'King of India' to be Budha Gupta, but in our humble opinion he can be well-nigh taken to be Narasimha Gupta The embassy must have left India in 500-1 A D, and the 'devout Buddhist' Narasimha Gupta may have felt proud to send a mission with numerous presents to the great emperor of China

But Narasiṃha Gupta Baladitya was not destined to rule in peace The Hunas under Toramāna ultimately burst out of the bounds of Eastern Malwa and invaded the heart of the Gupta empire, they overran the Eastern countries and occupied the city of the Gaudas This is clear from the Ārya-Mañjuśri mūla kalpa in which he is addressed as Hakārakhyah or Akarakhyah and is described as coming from the West, and as a great king of Śūdracaste"[2] He has been rightly identified by Jayaswal[3] with Toramana He was a master of a large part of Northern India, besides Western and Central Asia[4] An undated inscription of the reign of Rajamahāraja Toramana Śahi or Śah jauvl jauval, was discovered at Kurā in Salt-Range in the Punjab[5] Jayaswal[6] and Stan-Konow[7] have rightly held that Toromana of the Kura and the Eran inscriptions are one and the same person. Though Bühler[8], the editor of the Kura inscription, doubted the identity, Cunningham had no

1 *Ibid*
2 I H I p 64
3 *Ibid* pp 53 ff
4 E H I p 335
5 E I I pp 238ff
6 J, B O R S XVI p 287, XVIII p 120
7 I H Q XII p 530
8 E I I p 238ff

doubt of it, and Smith[1] supported him Toramāna issued silver and copper coins, whose main characteristic is their 'want of originality'[2] The legend jabula or jaubula on these coins reminds us of the jauvla of the Kurā inscription, and Stan-Konow[3] agreed with Jayaswal that jauvl jauval was a title of Toramāna Two silver coins of Toramāna in the British Museum are dated in the year 52 There is a difference of opinion about the interpretation of the date Fleet[4] took it to be the regnal year of Toramana Such a long reign is rather abnormal It is possible that the date is expressed in a special White Hūna era[5] of which we do not know when exactly it began. It might be 448 A D ; which is the probable date of the foundation of the Hūna empire in Oxus basin[6]

Toramana was, thus, certainly a ruler of great importance who shook the Gupta empire to its very roots From the Ārya-Mañjuśri mūla kalpa it is clear that he overran Magadha also[7] Narasimha Gupta offered a feeble resistance and was forced to become a vassal and pay tribute This information is given by Yuan Chwang, according to whom, 'Balāditya refused to pay tribute,' and Mihirakula, when defeated and imprisoned by Bāladitya, observed that 'the subject and the master have changed places'[8]

Prakataditya or 'Pra'?

The comparatively easy conquest of Magadha and the defeat of Narasimha Gupta by the Huna emperor Toramāna

1 J A S B 1894 p 186
2 *Ibid*, p 188.
3 *I H Q XII p 550*
4 I A XVIII p. 229
5 *J A S B 1894 p 195*
6 I A XLVI p 287
7 I H I pp. 64, 53ff
8 The *Records I pp 168-69, Watters I, pp 288-89 We feel no diffi*culty in identifying the Baladitya of Yuan Chwang with Narasimha Gupta Bāladitya of the seals and the coins It is unnecessary to postulate the existence of another imperial Gupta ruler with the title 'Bāladitya'

ın *Cır* 503-4 A. D were very much facılıtated by the ınternal dıssensıons *ın the royal famıly and rebellıous* ambıtıon of feudatorıes, and these tendencıes were naturally encouraged by the clever ınvaders—Toramāna and Mıhırakula Toramana caused 'Pakārakhya' or 'Prakārākhya' to be released from prıson at Bhagavatapura, returned hım to Nandapura (Patalıputra), and enthroned hım as kıng of Magadha at Kāśı (Banaras)[1] Jayaswal[2] has rıghtly restored the full name of thıs Gupta prınce as Prakatādıtya[2] We have an ınscrıptıon—*the* Sārnāth ınscrıptıon of Prakatādıtya[3] Unfortunately thıs ıs very much broken, and no connected account can be read from ıt The Prakatādıtya of the ınscrıptıon may be ıdentıfied wıth Prakārākhya of the Ārya-Mañjusrı mula kalpa[4] But accordıng to the ınscrıptıon,[5] Prakatādıtya belonged to a famıly ın whıch a *nrıpatı* Baladıtya was born, and the former was the son of another Bāladıtya by hıs wıfe Dhavala We know that one Balādıtya-Narasımha Gupta was a member of the ımperıal Gupta *famıly The assumptıon of* ādıtya *tıtles lıke Kramā*dıtya, Vıkramādıtya, Mahendrādıtya, Prakaśadıtya and Baladıty by Gupta kıngs raıses a strong suspıcıon that Prakatādıtya was also an ādıtya tıtle assumed by a Gupta prınce Was Prakatādıtya another son of Narasımha Gupta by hıs queen (Dhavala)? Kumāra Gupta III was a son of Narasımha Gupta by hıs Mahadevı Śrımıtradevı[6] Kumāra Gupta I and Chandra Gupta II are *known to have more than one* queen. *Accordıng* to the Mañjuśrı-mūla kalpa[7] Prakarakhya when a boy was

1 I H I pp 53ff

2 *Ibid* p 73

3 C I I III No 79 p 284

4 The ınscrıptıon of Prakaṭadıtya ıs found at Sarnath near Kāśī, and Kāśı and Madhyadeśa are mentıoned ın the ınscrıptıon Prakārākhya was crowned at Kaśı, and Madhyadesa was certaınly under hım

5 C I I *III, No 79 p 284*

6 Hoernle had read the name of the Mahadevı pf Narasımha Gupta as Śrīmatıdevī (J A S B LVIII pp 89ff) Fleet had read the name a Mahālakṣmīdevi (I A XIX p 225), The correct name ıs Śrīmıtradevī (M A S I No 66, p 66)

7 I H. I P 63,

imprisoned by King Gopa. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Narasimha Gupta himself or his chief queen Śrimitradevī might have got Prakatadıtya imprisoned by the help of King Gopa[1] as Aśoka's wife had Kunala exiled and blinded[2] Such a prince would certainly be made good use of by a foreign conqueror like Toramana who installed him as a king to offset Narasimha Gupta Toramana from the beginning appears to have been in touch with some members (probably disappointed ones) of the Gupta family According to the Jaina author Udyotanasuri, writer of Kuvalayamala, Toramana's headquarters of his Indian possessions was Pavvaiya on the Chenab, and his guru was Hari Gupta, who himself was a *scion of the Gupta family*[3] *According to the Ārya* Mañju śrī-mula kalpa[4] Pra[5] (katadıtya) was the son of (*Bhakārakhya*), who was a descendant (*anuja*) of Samudra Gupta

1 Jayaswal identified king Gopa with Goparaja of the Eran inscription dated 191 It is more reasonable to identify King Gopa of the Ārya Mañjuśri mula kalpa with Gopachandra of Mallasarul and Faridpur copper plates Gopachandra may have been at first a feudatory of Narasimha Gupta, and *imprisoned Prakaṭaditya at the behest of the Gupta* emperor Gopachandra may have made himself master of Vardhamāna bhukti after the overthrow of Vainya Gupta

2 Smith (E H I p 201) doubts the historical value of the tradition because the theme is common one occurring in many stories But this is no argument against our suggestion that Prakaṭaditya was imprisoned by the reigning Gupta emperor and was put on the throne as a puppet by Toramāna

3 J B O R S XIV pp 28ff Probably there is a copper coin of Hari Gupta found in Ahichchhatra (CCGDBM p 152 No 616, Pl. XXIV, 16)

4 I H I p 63

5 Really, the actual position of Prakaṭāditya in the dynastic history of the Guptas is not clear Jayaswal identifies Bhā', with Bhānu Gupta whom he took *to be the Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang and* conqueror of Mihirakula. Many scholars have held that Bhānu Gupta Baladitya was an imperial Gupta ruler who defeated Mihirakula and fought the Hūṇas *with Goparāja of the Eran inscription (P H A I 3rd Edn. pp 401 2)* But to us there is no positive evidence at all to hold that there was a Gupta emperor *Bhānu* Gupta with the āditya title *Bālāditya* We have coins of all the known Gupta rulers and so far no coin of Bhānu Gupta is known, nor is Bhānu Gupta known from any other inscription, save the Eran inscription The fifth Dāmodarpur copper plate incription which according to Basak contained the date 214 G I and the name Bhānu Gupta (E I XV p 115) has been shown to be dated in 224 G E (*Ibid* XVII p 193), and the name may be Kumāra Gupta (*Ibid*, Note 1) or Viṣṇu Gupta. Basak accepted the revised reading of the date (H N E I pp 92-93), and it is hardly possible to assume the existence of one Bhānu

Toramāna was a great conqueror, and a statesman of no mean order. His invasion of Magadha was an event of profound importance not only for the history of Magadha but for the whole of Northern India. Unfortunately for the Hūnas, Toramāna died *soon after his victorious march to Gauda and* Magadha. According to the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa the powerful Śūdra King (Toramāna), soon after the installation

Gupta Bālāditya as emperor of India and reigning from about 500 to 543 A D It is significant to note that in the Eran Posthumous inscription of Goparāja, (C I I III, p 93), nothing is said about the ancestors of Bhānu Gupta, nor is he referred to with the usual imperial titles common to the Gupta emperors. The expression 'the bravest man on the earth, a mighty *king equal to Pārtha*' is just formal Bhānu Gupta may have been distantly connected with the imperial line, and during those critical years he may have succeeded in carving out a fortune for himself before 510-11 A D. The invasion of Magadha *by Toramāna and the consequent defeat and* humiliation of the emperor Narasimha Gupta afforded a favourable opportunity to different scions of the imperial family to embark on a career of adventure and carve out independent principalities, Vainya *Gupta* did it in East Bengal, (I. H. Q. VI pp. 45ff), Kṛṣna Gupta or his successor may have become quite influential in Magadha. Bhānu Gupta may have been one such adventurer, and he may have been supported by Goparaja. From the Eran *inscription we come to learn that a mighty battle was fought and* Goparāja was killed. We do not know what happened to Bhānu Gupta. It is possible that Bhānu Gupta lost the battle. It was most probably against the Hūna *King Mihirakula that the battle was fought In view of* such flimsy and doubtful evidence it is safe to exclude Bhanu Gupta from the list of Gupta emperors. Narasimha *Gupta Bālāditya* clearly fits in the story of Yuan Chwang about Bālāditya and Mihirakula It is true that Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭaditya appears to allude to more than one Bālāditya (C. I I. III pp 284ff), but the inscription is too broken to enable us to read a definite account from it, or to base thereon a conclusion, but one thing is clear that Prakaṭāditya was a son of Bālāditya, son of Narasimha Gupta.

Bhakārākhya of the Ārya-Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa may be Narasimha Gupta, but the text is very much confused. On the coins of Vainya Gupta there is the simple letter 'Bhā' (CCGDBM. p 144 what was read as Chandra has been shown to be Vainya). Is Bhā of the Ārya-Mañjuśri mūla-kalpa the same as Vainya Gupta ? In that case Prakaṭaditya would be a son of Vainya Gupta, who may have had another title *'Bālāditya'* as a challenge to Narasimha Gupta, besides 'Dvādaśāditya'. Vainya Gupta was encouraged by Toramāna to become the ruler of the Eastern provinces of the Gupta empire, and the clever invader may have *installed Prakatāditya*, a son of Vainya Gupta on the throne at Kāśi King Gopa or Gopachandra was jealous of Vainya Gupta and so helped Narasimha Gupta against him *and after the overthrow of Vainya Gupta made himself master of* Western and Eastern Bengal. Would it not be chronologically absurd to identify Bhakārākhya, anuja of Samudra Gupa with Bhāsma the brother of Samudra Gupta who occupied Gauda for three days according to the same authority (MMK) ?

It is impossible to be positive about one or the other possibilities.

of Prakārākhya in Kāśī, fell ill and died after crowning his son Graha (Mihirakula)[1] This event might have taken place in *Cir* 504 A D There is no denying the fact that Toramāna dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the Gupta emperor and empire, and directly as well as indirectly encouraged centrifugal t ndencies to assert themselves with success Mahārāja Dhruvasena, who followed Drona Simha, assumed more high sounding titles like Mahasāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahādandanāyaka and Mahākartakritika "[2] This certainly suggests definite improvement in the status of the Maitrakas of Valabhi after Maharaja Drona Simha, and the further loosening of the tie with the imperial dynasty

Vainya Gupta

In the east Mahārāja Vainya Gupta assumed an independent status A copper-plate with a seal attached, bearing the legend Mahārāja Sri Vai (nya Gupta), and the picture of a bull in relief, has been discovered at Gunaigarh in the Tipperah district of East Bengal The copper plate is dated in the current (Gupta) year 188, which is equivalent to December 506 A D[3] The absence of the imperial title, the use of the subordinate title Mahārāja, the invocation to Mahādeva, and the Bull on the seal instead of Garuda may lead one to assume that Vainya Gupta was a petty chief, not a paramount ruler belonging to the Gupta dynasty[4] We have already seen that the absence of the usual imperial titles does not prove the status of the man Kumāra Gupta I is called Mahārāja in the Mankuwar stone image inscription, and Bhoja and Mahendrapāla are referred to simply as Mahārājas in some inscriptions The whole point is settled by the discovery of the Nalandā seal of Vainya Gupta, which gives the imperial title

1 I H I pp 61-65
2 J B B R A S (N S) I, p 16, I H Q IV p. 462
3 I H Q VI pp 45ff
4 *Ibid*

Mahārajādhiraja [1] Unfortunately the whole seal is not available, 'only a triangular piece of baked red clay forming the bottom portion of the seal showing parts of at least four lines',[2] have been preserved to us, and the vital portions that gave the names of his ancestors and their queens are lost But the extant portions of the seal leave no doubt that the names of the ancestors of Vainya Gupta ended in 'Gupta', the style of the inscription is clearly Guptan The seal has been found with the other royal seals of the Gupta emperors There can hardly be any doubt that Vainya Gupta of the seals is the same person as he of the Gunaigarh copper plates The coins which had been attributed to one Chandra Gupta III by Allan,[3] have been shown to belong to Vainya Gupta,[4] and the attribution has been accepted by scholars [5] The coins are of Archer type and the weight and the fabric of the coins clearly connect them with the coinage of the later imperial Guptas In the Gunaigarh copper plate inscription[6] Mahāsamanta Mahārāja Vijayasena and Mahārаja Rudradatta are subordinate officers of Maharāja Vainya Gupta, who is ruling the earth Therefore, the status of Vainya Gupta was certainly higher than that of a mere Mahārāja It is true that from the Gunaigarh copper plate and the seal it is clear that Vainya Gupta was a devotee of Śiva,[7] while in the Nalandā seal[8] he is called Paramabhagavata, devotee of Visnu The coins of Vainya Gupta have Garuda standard on the left, on the obverse [9] But "the question of a sovereign's religion has no relevancy in the

1 M A S I No 66, p 67
2 *Ibid*
3 C C G D B M P. 144
4 I H Q IX P 784
5 R C. Majumdar (I H Q IX pp 989 ff), R Burn (Bhārata Kaumudī A study in Indology in honour of R K Mookherji p 148), Allan has also accepted the revised reading
6 I H Q VI pp 45 ff
7 I H Q VI pp 45ff
8 M A S I No 66 p 67
9 C C G D B M p 144

matter of deciding the dynasty to which he belonged "[1] It is possible that Vainya Gupta may have been a devotee of Śiva, and tolerant towards Buddhism, and at the same time con tinued the traditional use of Garuda standard on the coins, and the legend 'Paramabhagavata on official seals, following the imperial Guptas Therefore, it is clear that Vainya Gupta of the copper plate coins and the seal is the one and the same person, and he must have belonged to the imperial Gupta family

Many scholars have taken Vainya Gupta Dvadaśaditya to be the successor of Budha Gupta[2] Dandekar[3] has no doubt that Vainya Gupta 'ascended the Gupta throne after Budha Gupta and ruled at least up to 506 7 A D' But we suggest that Vainya Gupta was a puppet raised on the throne by Toramana after the defeat of Narasimha Gupta Vainya Gupta was an ambitious member of the imperial dynasty He may have been a son of Kumara Gupta-II or Budha Gupta[4] Naturally, he was not happy over the accession of Narasimha Gupta The Huna invasion under Toramana created havoc and confusion in the empire Narasiṁha Gupta was defeated and he may have been gone into hiding It was in these un-fortunate days that some of his baser coins, belonging to class II type, were issued Toramana was interested in encouraging the different members of the imperial family to parcel out the already shrunk empire among themselves He had taken Pra kataditya out of prison and installed him as a king in Kaśi He must have encouraged Vainya Gupta to assume indepen dence Encouraged by the Huna success against Narasimha Gupta, and probably directly assisted by Toramana Vainya Gupta proclaimed himself the emperor, issued seals with im

1 Daṇḍekar *op ci* p 141
2 I H Q IX p 783
3 Dandekar *op ci* p 143
4 Accord ng to Yuan Chwang Tathagatarāja was the son or d rect descendant of Buddha (Budha) Gupta (*The L f* p 110) We have iden t fied Tathagataraja w th Vainya Gupta

perial titles, and coins with the aditya title Dvadaśaditya His coins "are presumably from the Kalighat hoard "[1] His feudatory Vijayasena was the viceroy of a bhukti in Uttaramandala in Samatata The system of administration that was in vogue in Pundravardhana as known from the Damodarpur plates prevailed also in Samatata (East Bengal) His seal has been found in Nalanda[2] in Magadha. If his identity with Tathagataraja of the Chinese pilgrim[3] is accepted then he built a Sangharama in Nalanda It may therefore be assumed that Vainya Gupta Dvadaśaditya exercised suzerainty over Bihar (at least South Bihar) and Bengal

The period of his rule may be taken to be *Cir* 504 514 A D, when Narasimha Gupta Baladitya was in wilderness and was forced to issue coins of rude fabric and very base metal The coins of Dvadaśaditya are "probably to be dated not later than Narasimha Gupta '[4] The numismatic evidence confirms our hypothesis that Vainya Gupta supplanted Narasimha Gupta for some time The report from the laboratory on the late Gupta coins shows that while No 560 (B M C) belonging to class I of Narasimha Gupta contained 71 % of gold, No 565 of class II belonging to the same ruler has only 54 % of gold, on the other hand, there is 73 % gold in the coin No 589 of Vainya Gupta Dvadaśaditya[5] Allan[6] remarks that ' Vainya Gupta is earlier than appears in the British Museum Catalogue ' The only reasonable inference is that between Narasimha Gupta class I and class II Archer-type coins, we have to place the coins of Vainya Gupta It is clear that Narasimha Gupta s class II coins which have baser metal, heavier weight and worse finis are later than the coins of Vainya Gupta The great difference in the purity of the

1 C C G D B M p 114 and note 1
2 M A S I No 66 p 67
3 *The Life* p 110
4 C C G D B M p Li
5 Appendix Ia
6 *Ibid*

two classes of the coins of Narasimha Gupta can only be explained by believing that Narasimha Gupta had experienced some great change for the worse in his fortunes Toramana had overrun the country, Narasimha Gupta was defeated and must have gone into wilderness and from there to assert the continuity of his sovereignty he went on issuing coins which could not but be of very poor quality and finis Vainya Gupta, probably assisted or encouraged by Toramana came into the possession of the rich treasury of Magadha and issued coins of fine quality and good gold to proclaim his splendour

Identity of Vainya Gupta and Tathagata raja

We are disposed to identify Vainya Gupta with Tathagata raja, who according to Yuan Chwang[1] followed Buddha (Budha) Gupta in building another Sangharama in Nalanda monastery The seal of Vainya Gupta has been found at Nalanda,[2] and his patronage to Buddhism is clear from the Gunaigarh copper-plate inscription[3] Some may draw support for the theory that Vainya Gupta immediately succeeded Budha Gupta from the statement of Yuan Chwang that Tathagata raja followed Budha Gupta and was followed by Baladitya But it is important to be borne in mind that the Chinese pilgrim is not giving a chronological history of the kings of Magadha but a history of the building of monasteries in Nalanda by different kings He mentions a king of mid India not of Magadha, after Vajra, who followed Baladitya[4] It should also be borne in mind that Tathagata raja's relationship to Baladitya who is said to have followed him in the construction of a sangharama in Nalanda monastery, is not mentioned, nor do the Records mention his relationship to Budha Gupta who preceded him[5] Baladitya who is mentioned after Tathagata raja in the construction of a

1 The *Life* p 110
2 M A S I No 66 p 67
3 I H Q VI pp 45 ff
4 The *Life* p 111
5 Watters II pp 164 65 the Records II p 168

monastery in Nalanda may have constructed the building later than Vainya Gupta Thus the identity of Vainya Gupta and Tathagata raja does not contradict our hypothesis that Vainya Gupta came to the imperial throne when Narasimha Gupta was overthrown by Toramāna Vainya Gupta, conscious of his weak and unpopular position, showed great religious eclecticism He was a devotee of Mahadeva, and also a 'Paramabhāgavata' He patronised Buddhists and built a Sanghārama in Nalandā. He continued the traditional Gupta coinage and issued coins of fine metal

Overthrow of Vainya Gupta and Restoration of Narasimha Gupta

The authority of Vainya Gupta appears to have been short lived We have only three coins of his in the British Museum Catalogue.[1] A surer evidence is the Mallasarul copper-plate of Mahārāja Vijayasena, issued in the 3rd year of Mahārājādhirāja Gopachandra's reign.[2] This Mahārāja Vijayasena is evidently the same person who is referred to as Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Vijayasena in the Gunaigarh copper-plate inscription of Vainya Gupta[3] Gopachandra of the Mallasārul plate has been identified with he of the Faridpur plates[4] Thus, it is obvious that Vijayasena was a feudatory of both Vainya Gupta and Gopachandra. While in the Gunaigarh copper-plate Vijayasena used the seal of his overlord Vainya Gupta, the Mallasarul copper plate has the seal of Vijayasena himself The unavoidable inference is that the status of Vijayasena was higher in the time of Gopachandra than in that of Vainya Gupta Therefore, it may be reasonably held that Mallasārul copper plate is later in date than the Gunaigarh copper plate dated in December 506 A D Gopachandra's rule over West Bengal (Vardhamāna Bhukti) is proved

1. C C G D B M, p. 144
2. E. I. XXIII pp 155ff
3 I H Q VI pp 45ff
3a. I A XXXIX pp 193 ff

by the Mallasārul plate while his authority over East Bengal is known from the Faridpur plates We have copper plates of Dharmāditya discovered at the same place, and Pargiter[1] had held that Gopachandra had followed Dharmaditya But R C Mazumdar[2] has conclusively proved that Gopachandra preceded Dharmaditya Therefore it appears certain that Gopachandra either overthrew the rule of Vainya Gupta in Bengal, or succeeded him in this part of the country We have already suggested that Gopachandra may be identified with King Gopa who, according to the Ārya-Mañjus'ri mūla kalpa, helped Narasimha Gupta in imprisoning Prakataditya It is quite possible that Gopachandra, who was already a high official or feudatory (nṛipa) under Narasiṃha Gupta, could not tolerate the rule of the quisling Vainya Gupta, who also must have been fairly unpopular due to his relation with the barbaric enemies—the Hūnas Narasiṁha Gupta may have played some part in organising the opposition against Vainya Gupta who had usurped his throne with the help of the enemies of the nation. From the Eran Posthumous inscription of Goparāja[3] we learn that Goparaja and brave Bhānu Gupta (who had come from somewhere else) fought a mighty battle The inscription is dated in the (Gupta) year 191 (=510-11 A D.), and the battle was certainly fought against the Hunas Goparaja is said to have lost his life. We do not know what happened to Bhanu Gupta, and who won the battle ? It is possible that Bhānu Gupta was defeated or killed What is important to observe is that in 510-11 or shortly before it a mighty battle was fought in Eran, presumably against the Hunas We have already seen that much earlier than 510 A D , Toramāna had made himself master of Eastern Malwa.[4] Therefore the battle referred to in the Eran posthumous inscription of Goparāja was fought

1 I A XXXIX *pp* 193 ff
2 H. B R I pp 52 53
3 C I I III No 20 pp 9:
4 *Ibid* No 36 pp 158 ff

against the Hūna occupation of Malwa. Vainya Gupta, the puppet of the Hūṇas, was on the imperial throne. Narasimha Gupta was in exile, running a refugee government.[1] At such a critical time Bhānu Gupta, probably a scion of the Gupta family, 'brave as Pārtha' was adventurous enough to go as far as Eran to lead a war of resistance against the foreign occupation. Whether Mihirakula lost or won the battle, it must have given him a lot of worries. Vainya Gupta had failed to assure safety to the Hūna empire. His authority was overthrown in Bengal by Gopachandra. Some seals of Chandra princes have been discovered at Nālandā.[2] It is possible that the Chandras may have even invaded Magadha and finally overthrown Vainya Gupta. Gopachandra was assisted by Vijayasena who was at first a high official under Vainya Gupta and, as a reward for his services, Gopachandra allowed an improvement in the status of Vijayasena, who obtained the privilege of using his own seal. Mihirakula, realising the hopeless position of Vainya Gupta, had no further use for such a quisling. Vainya Gupta then departed from the stage of history probably with the same fate as has befallen the lot of traitors in ancient and modern history.

This was a situation particularly favourable for Narasimha Gupta, who reoccupied his ancestral throne of Magadha in about *Cir.* 515 A. D. after about 10 years of exile. His first objective was to settle account with the Hūnas. But that needed long and arduous preparations and stupendous financial commitments. So the first need of the hour was peace, breathing time. Fortunately, Mihirakula also wished for peace. He had seen the rising tempo of Indian resistance in Eastern Malwa and he may have been weary of war, and was therefore anxious to resume his march back to his Indian headquarters. Narasimha Gupta must have realised the weakness of his position and the unfruitfulness of carrying on an unequal war against a powerful and

1. Many European governments were in exile during the last two world-wars, and they ran the show from London.
2. M. A. S. I. No. 66 pp. 29-30.

ruthless enemy The result was that a peace was concluded between Mihirakula and Narasimha Gupta according to which the Huṇa king must have assured non injury to the kingdom of Magadha, and Baladitya acknowledged the formal suzerainty of the Hunas and agreed to pay tribute as we learn from Yuan Chwang[1] The terms were certainly not very honourable to the descendant of the imperial Guptas, but peace and security that were assured were necessary to reorganise the resources of the kingdom, to bide for time Naturally, therefore Narasimha Gupta could not indulge in the luxury of reissuing coins of good gold 'The class II Archer-type coins of Narasimha Gupta are of very rude workmanship' and base metal Some of these seem never to have had marginal legend One of the coins (No 565 B M C) has only 54% of gold[2] It appears that even after Narasimha Guptá was restored to the throne, financial stringency and exploitation of resources for the coming war with the Hunas forced him to continue the issue of those heavily debas d coins[3]

The Hūna War

While Narasimha Gupta was trying to reorganise his kingdom and was beautifying the land with monasteries and the Buddha s images, Mihirakula, ruling over his Indian provinces from Śialkot in the Punjab, was carrying on a systematic persecution of Buddhism[4] He can be safely identified with that King of Gandhara who was 'cruel and vindictive' and practised the most barbarous atrocities,' who 'did not believe in the Law of the Buddha, but loved to worship demons' whom Sung Yün met and by whom he was not well received[5] Gollas the

1 The Records I p 168
2 Appendix 1a
3 The coins of Narasimha Gupta have the letter Gre between the feet of the k ng on the obverse (C G G D B M pp 137 39 Pl XXII 7 12 C I M I pp 119 120) Therefore on the gratu t ous supposit on that on the co ns of Nara Baladitya there is the letter Go between the feet attr but on of these coins to Gopachandra (I C V p 428) is clearly unwarranted
4 The Records I pp 166-67
5 *Ib d Intro pp* XCIX C

King of the White Hūnas 'whose word was law to the whole of India' according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, has been rightly identified with Mihirakula by Stein[1] and Smith[2] Cosmas calls Gollas (Mihirakula) "Lord of India from which he exacted tribute by oppression, enforcing his demands with the aid of two thousand war elephants and a great host of cavalry" Mihirakula had inherited a vast empire from his father Toramana India was only one province of the Huna empire with a capital at Bamiyan, with Balkh as a secondary capital,[3] and more than forty countries paid tribute[4] to the Hūna emperor His silver and copper coins have been found in the Punjab On some silver coins we find the bull or bull-standard on a trident with the legend 'jayati Mihirakula' or 'jayati Vrisadhvaja' on the obverse[5] His coins clearly show that Mihirakula was a devotee of Śiva. From the story related by Yuan Chwang it appears that at first Mihirakula was anxious to understand Buddhism, and wanted the Buddhist clergy to recommend a teacher to him but the clergy insulted him by recommending a servant of his own household. This enraged him and he 'forthwith ordered the utter extermination of the Buddhist Church throughout all his dominions'[6] Baladitya raja (Narasimha Gupta), a devout Buddhist,[7] naturally resented this order for the persecution of Buddhism He had gained the love and affection of the people by his good and beneficient administration,[8] by 'building orchards, reservoirs, gardens, passages, bridges,'[9] and he 'tenderly nourished his people'[10] The proud and once great and triumphant people of Magadha must have been feeling upset over the recognition of the Huna overlordship The peace that Narasimha Gupta had won for a few years gave to

1 I A XXXIV pp 73 ff
2 E H I p 336
3 *Ibid* p 335
4 The Records I p XCI.
5 J A S B 1894 pp 202 ff C I M I p 236
6 Watters I p 288
7 The Records I p 168
8 Watters I p 288
9 I H I p 23
10 The Records I p 163

the state and the people the much needed breathing time a what was needed a good *Casus belli* to throw off the Hūna yo Bālāditya found in the policy of persecution of Buddhism Mihirakula a very good excuse to rebel against the Huna lo Balāditya was himself a pro-Buddhist, the people of Magac were traditionally sympathetic to Buddhism, and therefore rebellion of Bālāditya became at once a war of national hon and of survival of religion So Bālāditya was supported 'millions of his loyal subjects '[1]

When Balāditya rebelled against Mihirakula, who h ordered a general persecution of Buddhism,[2] the latter star *against the king of Magadha with a large force* Balādı found himself unequal to defending his territories "Follow by the millions of his loyal subjects, he left the capital a retired to probably some islands of the Bay of Bengal, perha to the Deltaic region "[3] The Hūnas under the cruel and v dictive[4] Mihirakula passed through the Madhyadeśa, bringi untold miseries and destruction in their way The Buddh monasteries were the chosen victims of their savagery T Kasia monastery was probably destroyed in the train of t invasion Archaeological evidence puts the destruction of t monastery in *Cir* 500 A D and this coincides with the date the Hūnas, invasions[5] Mihirakula descended upon Magad and its capital Pātaliputra Though deserted by the king a many of its residents, the natural defences of Pataliputra prov a serious obstacle to Mihirakula. Cosmas relates a story curre among the people "At one time when the Huṇa king w besieging a city situated in Central India (Madhyadeśa), he w unable to take it on account of the moats full of water by whi *it was protected* Thereupon he made his elephants, hors and myriads of soldiers drink the moat dry during the pr tracted siege, so that he was able to march dry foot into t town."[6] We have no doubt that the strongly fortified city w

1 The Records I p 169
2 Watters I p 288
3 The Records I p 169
4 The Records I p c
5 A S I A R 1906 7 pp 50 51
6 I A XXXIV pp 73 ff

non other than Pataliputra From the time of Chandragupta Maurya it was surrounded by a deep moat of water[1] The fact that the siege was 'protracted[2] suggests that the capital, though deserted by the king, was defended by some chiefs and officials[3] But ultimately Mihirakula succeeded in entering it, and the destruction of the historic city might have been caused by the Hunas, 'who have no written character[4] The monastery of Nalanda may not have escaped some ravage[5]

Mihirakula was anxious to get hold of Baladitya who cleverly allured him to come to the swampy country Mihirakula, "committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go to attack Baladitya " "The king, guarding the narrow passes, while the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mihirakula alive as a captive and brought him into the presence of Baladitya[6] It was, thus, a surprise attack, and "the subject and the master have changed places "[7] The zealous Buddhist victor Baladitya passed a death sentence on Mihirakula, who had overturned and destroyed like a wild beast the three precious objects of reverence'[8] Fortunately, the mother of Baladitya intervened, and Mihirakula was released "to rule over some small kingdom in the north "[9] The proud and vindictive Mihirakula was thus humiliated, and Baladitya had avenged his earlier defeats at the hands of Toramāna, the father of Mihirakula

When was this defeat on Mihirakula inflicted ? It appears from the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim that Mihirakula was severely defeated by Baladitya and had to take refuge in the

1 E H I p 128
2 I A XXXIV pp 73 ff
3 Some successor of Kṛṣṇagupta probably Harsagupta, may have been the leader of the city's defence against the Hunas
4 The Records I p xci
5 J B O R S XIV pp 1ff
6 The Records I p 169
7 *Ibid*
8 *Ibid*
9 *Ibid*

north Therefore, it could be hardly possible for Mihirakula to maintain his hold on any part of Central India. The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula is dated in his 15th regnal year[1] It may be *readily assumed that the defeat of Mihirakula could* have happened later in his 15th regnal year or shortly after it We have taken the accession of Mihirakula to be in the early part of 504 A D, and therefore Baladitya may have defeated Mihirakula in about 519 20 A D

Besides this defeat of Mihirakula by Baladitya related by Yuan Chwang, we have inscriptional evidence that Yaśodharman also defeated him[2] *It has been a problem for scholars* to reconcile the statements of Yuan Chwang and the Mandasor stone pillar inscriptions of Yasodharman Smith[3] proposed the theory that ' the native princes under the leadership of Yasodharman, a Raja of Central India, appeared to have formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant," and he further concluded that "the weight of evidence is now decidedly in favour of the rejection of Yuan Chwang's story" Earlier, the learned scholar had suggested that "Yaśodharman and Narasimha Gupta formed an alliance against the Hunas'[4] Allan[5] has rightly rejected the theory "as contrary to the evidence of both our authorities, Hiwen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) and the inscriptions" Fleet opined that "Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman *in the west and by Baladitya in the direction of Magadha*"[6] Hoernle[7] supposed that Yaśodharman Visnuvardhana was a feudatory of Narasimha Gupta and defeated Mihirakula in latter's reign, and thereupon took advantage of his great success to found an empire for himself But the truth is that

1 C I I III No 37 pp 163 ff
2 C I I III, No 33 pp 147 ff
3 E H I p 337 Note. 2 p 330
4 E H I (3rd Edn) p 300
5 CCGDBM P LIX
6 I A 1889 p 228
7 J A S B LVIII p 96

defeats of Mihirakula by Baladitya and Yaśodharman were two different events which were not synchronous The story told by Yuan Chwang may be 'highly embellished,[1] and his partiality to Baladitya is natural But it would be equally rash to reject the entire story as a mere figment of imagination After making all allowance, it may be readily conceded that ' probably we are justified in deducing from it that Narasimha Gupta inflicted a defeat on Mihirakula the Huna king The[2] victory of Baladitya may be put in *Cir* 520 A D , while the success of Yasodharman over Mihirakula is to to be placed in or shortly before 533 A D[3] The Rev Father Heras[4] relying too literally on the account of Yuan Chwang held that Mihirakula was first defeated by Yaśodharman earlier than his final defeat by Baladitya, because according to the Chinese pilgrim after his defeat by Baladitya, Mihirakula lost his estate and took asylum in Kashmir There is nothing contradictory between the account of Yuan Chwang and the Mandasore stone inscription of Yaśodharman, hence we are not disposed to regard the Chinese account as 'mere romance',[5] nor would we pass it over lightly as Modi[6] and Pathak[7] are inclined to do

We are aware that the meagre data at our disposal allow no definite conclusion, but reviewing critically the account of Yuan Chwang with all its merits and defects, and the facts stated in the inscription of Yaśodharman, we suggest a course of events that might most probably and reasonably have happened Mihirakula was a cruel and great conqueror, and a persecutor of Buddhism[8]

1 C C G D B M p LVI
2 *Ibid*
3 C I I III No 35 pp 158 ff
4 I H Q III pp 1ff
5 J R A S 1909 Pl I pp 96 98
6 J B B R A S XXIII pp 539 ff
7 I A 1918 pp 16 ff
8 Pathak has tried to identify Mihirakula with Kalkiraja of the Jaina tradition I A 1917 p 287, *Ibid* 1918 pp 16ff

Against his anti-Buddhistic policy Balāditya revolted, and Mihirakula left his capital in the Punjab to face Bālāditya. But Mihirakula was ultimately defeated in *Cir.* 520 A.D. He succeeded in getting away from Magadha, but misfortune dogged *his steps, and his younger brother usurped the throne* Mihirakula, temporarily in great trouble, took shelter in Kashmir, but soon after he captured the throne of Kashmir Sung Yun,[1] who visited Mihirakula sometime about 520 A D, mentions that "his troops were engaged in war with Kipin" Thus it appears that Mihirakula's misfortunes were shortlived, he began an offensive against Gandhāra, and continued his policy of the persecution of Buddhism[2] It was in the north *that Yaśodharman found him and forced him to bow down his* proud head before him[3]

Last years of Narasimha Gupta

Narasimha Gupta was successful in recovering the independence of Magadha and saving Buddhism from utter destruction He was quite satisfied with his achievements and more than thankful to Lord Buddha for his success He built another Sanghārāma *in* Nalānda[4] *Yuan Chwang had stayed* in the "College" of Bāladitya.[5] Balāditya also built a temple where he placed an image of the Buddha[6] The testimony of the Chinese scholar is corroborated by the Nālanda stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva[7] It mentions that "Balāditya, the great king of irresistible valour after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected, as if with a view to see the Kailāśa mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple of the illustrious son of Śuddhodana,

1 E H I Note I p 374, I A XXXIV pp 73 ff
2 The Records I, p 171
3 C I I III, No 33 p 148
4 The Records II p. 168
5 The *Life* p 109
6 The Records II p 170
7. E. I. XX pp 43 ff.

here at Nālandā."[1] There is no reason to suggest that "this Yaśovarmadeva was a contemporary with Bālāditya, the builder of the famous temple."[2] Hirānanda Śāstrī hinted that *Yaśovarmadeva may be really Yaśodharman*.[3] A. K. Mrithyunjayan[4] supported Śāstrī and held that what has been read as Yaśodharman in the Mandasore stone inscription may be Yaśovarman. It has been proved by Majumdar[5] that the name in the Nālandā inscription is certainly Yaśovarmadeva, and that the palaeography does not support the suggestion of Śāstrī. The name in Mandasore stone inscription is Yaśodharman and Fleet[6] had considered the possibility of the name Yaśovarman and rejected it. Therefore Yaśodharman of the Mandasore inscription cannot be Yaśovarman of the Nālandā inscription; Yaśovarman was a king of Kanauj in the 8th century. *The main basis of Śāstrī's hypothesis is his assumption* that the inscription was "written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśovarmadeva was holding the reins of sovereignty."[7] Majumdar[8] has rightly pointed out that "there is no warrant for the assumption that Bālāditya was ruling at the time when the record was set up." The inscription only refers to the temple built by Bālāditya after he had defeated his enemies. This Bālāditya can be safely identified with Narasimha Gupta of the coins, and Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang. After defeating the terribly anti-Buddhist Mihirakula Bālāditya celebrated his triumph by erecting the temple, which was noticed by Yuan Chwang[9] about a century later, and was referred to in glowing terms as still standing aloft in the Nālandā stone inscription

1. M. A. S. I. No 66, p 81.
2. E. I. XX p 40.
3. *Ibid*
4. I. H. Q. VIII pp 228, 615
5. *Ibid* VII pp 664 ff.
6. C. I. I. III No 33 pp 145, Note 2
7. E. I. XX p 40
8. I. H. Q. VII pp 664 ff
9. The Records II pp 173-74

of Yaśovarmadeva,[1] belonging to the first half of the 8th Century A D. two hundred years after Bālāditya. It was to this temple to which "Malada made a pious permanent grant of pure water mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects[2] The remains found on the site No 2 of the Nalandā excavations are thought to be connected with the temple that Baladitya had built.[3]

Narasimha Gupta, "the zealous Buddhist king"[4] now thought that his work was done, and influenced by some priests of China, "he gave up his royal estate and became a recluse"[5] According to *the Records* "Baladitya called an assembly *for congregation* (in his *newly built* vihāra at Nalanda), and priests from China came to the assembly The king then was affected by a profound faith, he gave up his country and became a recluse Having done so, he placed himself as the lowest of the priests, but his heart was always uneasy and ill at rest, "formerly I was a king and the highest among the honourable, but now I have become a recluse, I am degraded to the bottom of the priesthood," forthwith he went to the priests and said words to that effect, on this the Samgha resolved that they who had not received the full orders should be classed *according to their natural years of life, this* Sangharama is the only one in which this law exists"[6] *This* concession apparently satisfied him, and the story suggests that Balāditya must have been fairly advanced in years, so that he could now be placed high in the order of priesthood to his satisfaction Ārya-Mañjuśrī mūla kalpa also confirms the view that Baladitya became a recluse, but it is impossible to agree with it that Balāditya died at the age of 36 years and one month only[7] Bālāditya died at a very advanced age

1 F I XX pp 40 ff
2 M A S I No 66 p 81
3 *Ibid* p 24
4 Watters I p 288, I H I p 33 The Records I p 168
5 *The Life* p 111
6 The Records II p 169.
7 I H I p 23

It is clear that after his victory over Mihirakula in *Cir.* 520 A D, and the completion of the building of a new monastery and a temple at Nalanda, Narasimha Gupta Baladitya abdicated the throne in *Cir* 522 A D, and became a Buddhist monk

Kumara Gupta III

Narasimha Gupta was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta III, born of Mahadevi Śri Mitradevi, according to the Bhitari and Nalanda seals [1] and according to the Ārya Manjuśri mula kalpa [2] According to Yuan Chwang,[3] Baladitya was succeeded by Vajra, who built another monastery in Nalanda

It is possible that Vajra may have been another name of Kumara Gupta III The discovery of his seal in Nalanda from Site No I confirms his association with Nalanda monastery His seal has been found at Bhitari[4] in Ghajipur district of the Uttara Pradesha The Navagrama grant of Maharaja Hastin[5] dated in 198 G E, and the Betul[6] and Khoh plates[7] of Samksobha dated in years 199 and 209 respectively, show that the fiction of Gupta sovereignty continued in Central India His coins are mostly from the Kalighat hoard [8] The Ārya Mañjusri mula-kalpa specifically mentions him as 'the great lord of the Gaudas' From the find spots of the coins, seals and inscriptions, it is obvious that Kumara Gupta III, who succeeded to the kingdom of Magadha after the abdication of his father in *Cir* 522 A D, ruled (at least in the early part of his reign) over territories extending from the

1 J A S B LVIII pp 86 ff M A S I No 66 p 66 Fleet and Hoernle had read the name of the queen of Narasimha Gupta as Maha lakşmidevi or Śrimatidevi respectively The correct reading is Śri Mitradevi

2 I H I p 23

3 Watters II p 165

4 J A S B LVIII pp 84 ff

5 E I XXI pp 127 ff

6 *Ibid* VIII p 284

7 C I I III No 37 pp 163 ff

8 C C G D B M Note 1, p 102

eastern part of the Uttara Pradesha to Western Bengal, and his suzerainty was acknowledged in eastern parts of Central India

Coins

Kumara Gupta III issued coins with the Āditya title 'Kramaditya The gold coins of ruder fabric with Ku' beneath left arm, 'Go' or 'ja between the feet of the king and the legend 'Maharajadhiraja Śri Kumara Gupta Kramaditya on the obverse, and Śri Kramaditya' on the reverse[1] should now be assigned to Kumara Gupta III, not to Kumara Gupta II [2] *The weight of the coins varies from 146 0 to 151 8 grains*[3] We have seen that Narasimha Gupta issued two classes of the Archer type of coins, class I is of purer metal and better finis, class II of rude fabric and baser metal We have shown that these two classes of coins were not issued simulatn-ously for circulation in different districts of the empire, but were issued in different periods The report from the laboratory shows that No 560 (B M C p 137) belonging to class I has 71% of gold, while No 565 (B M C) of class II has only 54% of gold [4] Kumara Gupta III's coins follow the later issues of base coins by Narasimha Gupta both in weight and purity The coin No 576 (B M C)[5] belonging to Kumara Gupta III, not to Kumara Gupta II,[6] has only 54% of gold In its style, weight and purity it closely follows No 565 (B M C) Thus it is certain that on numismatic grounds alone the base *Ku* coins should be assigned to Kumara Gupta III, who must have immediately followed Narasimha Gupta and continued the type and quality of coins issued by the latter during his

1 CCGDBM pp 141 43
2 See *Supra*
3 CCGDBM pp 141 43
4 Appendix Ia
5 Appendix Ia
6 CCGDBM pp 141 43

later years Bhandarkar's[1] suggestion that Kumāra Gupta with the letter 'Go' between the feet and letter 'Ku' beneath the left arm of the king should be identified with Kumāra Gupta I, whose other name was Govinda Gupta, is clearly wrong as the weight, the finis and the purity of these coins make it impossible for them to be credited to Kumāra Gupta I

Rise of Yasodharman

But Kumara Gupta III was not destined to rule peacefully Narasimha Gupta had defeated Mihirakula and recovered the independence of his dynasty and kingdom of Magadha But Mihirakula, the tyrant, was still master of some part of the holy land Gollas, the king of the Hunas about whom the monk Cosmas Indicopleustas who visited western parts of India in about 530 A D refers to, has been identified by Stein[2] and Smith[3] with Mihirakula From the account of Cosmas it is clear that at that time (*Cir* 530 A D) the Hunas were masters of vast territories and Mihirakula was a powerful king and levied tribute on distant lands[4] From India "he exacted tribute by oppression, enforcing his demands with the aid of two thousand war elephants and a great host of cavalry "[5]

Naturally such a ruler was a source not only of national humiliation but of national calamity Narasimha Gupta had abdicated the throne and gone to the Buddhist church His son Kumara Gupta III, identified with Vajra of Yuan Chwang, was a Buddhist king, 'possessed of a heart firm in the faith '[6] He could not be the hero who could destroy the power of the Mlechchhas Even within the bounds of his own kingdom new powers were arising and crossing swords with one another for the mastery of Northern India.

1 IC XI p 231
2 I A XXXIV pp 73ff
3 E H I p 336
4 I A XXXIV pp 73ff
5. E H I p 336
6 The Records II p 170

But the overwhelming national crisis ultimately produced a national hero in Janendra Yaśodharman.[1] We know of him only from three inscriptions.[2] In none of these is his genealogy described. This suggests that he may not have directly descended from a ruling family.[3] He emerged as a popular leader to save Hindu Law and Society in an age which was a 'ravisher of good behaviour'.[4]

The Maṇḍasore stone-pillar-inscription of Yaśodharman tells us that he spurned the boundaries of his own house and enjoyed the countries mentioned (*svagriha parisarā-vajnayā yo*

1. C I I III, pp 155-56.

2 *Ibid*, Nos 33-35 pp 142 158.

3 From the Mandasore stone inscription of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana dated in the Malava year 589 (*ibid* No 35 p 150) we come to know that his family belonged to the lineage that had the famous aulikara crest (*Prakhyataulikara lāncchana*). From the Bihar Kotra inscription of Naravarman's time (E I XXVI pt 3, p 130), we come to know that Naravarmans, the father of Viśvavarman and grandfather of Bandhuvarman, belonged to the aulikara lineage This naturally suggests that Yaśodharman-Visnuvardhana belonged to the hereditary ruling family of Varmans of Malwa Accordingly, S N Chakravarty observed that "Yaśodharman can no longer be regarded as a military adventurer of the type of Śaśanka of Gauḍa and Yaśovarman of Kanauj" (*ibid*). From the Mandasore inscription of Prabhakara it appears that in 467-68 A D, Prabhakara was the feudatory governor of Malwa Was Prabhākara a direct successor of Bandhuvarman ? There is no proof to hold that Yaśodharman belonged to the same family as Naravarman. It is possible that his family may have had the same lineage but Yasodharman may have belonged to another branch of the lineage (Vaṁśa) The fact that in none of his inscriptions even the remotest hint is given that his ancestors were royal personages certainly shows that he did not belong to any ruling family Jayaswal (I H I p. 59), following Fleet (C I I III, No 33, p 148) that line 6 of the Maṇḍasore pillar inscription of Yaśodharman, which contains the statement that "his head has never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the good) Sthānu" refers to Yasodharman, held that Yaśodharman Visnuvardhana evidently belonged to Thānesvara itself, the seat of Lord Sthānu, to whom alone that hero bent his head, and so Jayaswal took him to be an ancestor of Vardhanas of Thāneśvara (I.H.I., p. [illegible]), and observed that "the M.M.K. shows that he became known to Chronicles under the name of Viṣṇuvardhana, a style carried on by his descendants Naravardhana to Harsavardhana" But there is no evidence at all to connect Yaśodharman Visnuvardhana with Naravardhana and Harsavardhana Kielhorn (I A XVII pp 219-20) has corrected the mistake of Fleet, and has shown that the passage in the inscription refers to Mihirakula not to Yaśodharman Mihirakula's devotion to Śiva is proved by his coins Thus, at the present state of our knowledge we hava got nothing to connect Yasodharman with any ruling family.

4 C I I. III No. 33, p 147.

bhunakti)[1] This clearly shows that his power and new imperial status were far beyond the ken of his ancestors, who lived within limitations, the family was at best a small feudatory one Thus the rise Yaśodharman was meteoric, and he extended his conquest 'from the neighbourhood of the Lauhitya up to Mahendra, and from the Himalayas to the Western Ocean' He further claims 'to have enjoyed those countries which were not enjoyed by his Gupta lords and which the commands of the chiefs of the Hunas that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate'[2] After taking into account the usual exaggerated nature of such inscriptions, it may be safely asserted that Yaśodharman was a conqueror of some importance, and his conquest in the north east must have been at the expense of the Gupta kingdom which had already shrunk to a great extent, His invasion of Bengal, rather Pundra vardhana, led to the end of the hereditary 'Datta' family as governor of the Bhukti and no 'Datta' governor is mentioned in the 5th Damodarpur plate[3] It is quite possible that in this struggle Kumara Gupta III perished, and the event may be dated in *Cir* 530 A D It may have been the news of his death that induced Baladitya father of Kumara Gupta III, to commit suicide[4] The king from mid India (Madhyadeśa), who followed Vajra in building another Sangharama at Nalanda,[5] was Yaśodharman, he could not be Harsavardhana as there is mention of his activities in Nalanda by the name of Śiladitya After his successful *digvijaya* in the East and the Madhyadesa, Yaśodharman proceeded to the North where he forced Mihirakula to obeisance and broke the power of the Hunas in India[6]

1 *Ibid*

2 *Ibid* Fleet translated Guptanathan as lords of the Guptas (*Ibid* p 198) Jayaswal corrected the translation as Gupta lords (I H I pp 40-41) It is possible that Yasodharman may have begun his career as a feudatory of the Guptas

3 E I XV pp 114 15

4 I H I p 33

5 Watters II pp 167 171

6 C I I III No 33 p 148 The Rev Father Heras held that Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula in Malwa earlier than his defeat by Bāladitya

The defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman may be almost fixed within close limits When Cosmas[1] refers to him about 530 A D Mihirakula (Gollas) was a poweaful and proud king, but he was certainly forced to bow to Yaśodharman before 533 A D Therefore the defeat of Mihirakula may be placed in *Cir* 531 32 A D

The Mandasore stone inscription of Yasodharman and Visnuvardhana[2] raises a ticklish problem, as it mentions the victorious *Janendra* Yosodharman as well as *Naradhipati* Viṣnuvardhana, and speaks highly of both Yasodharman is said "to have plunged into the array of his enemies," and Visnu vardhana is referred to as having "brought into subjection with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east, and many kings of the north," and is described as '*Rajadhiraja*' and '*Parameśvara*' and as 'having conquered the earth with his (own) arms' It has been a problem as to how to explain the mention of both Yaśodharman and Visnuvardhana in so glowing terms in the same inscription Allan[3] held that the "natural explanation of the mention of both kings is that Yaśodharman was the suzerain of Visnu vardhana" Fleet also was of the same opinion that "Visnuvardhana, who though he had the titles of *Rajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara* would appear to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśodharman "[4] Hoernle[5] held that Yasodharman and Visnuvardhana were the same

(I H Q pp 1ff) But the sequence in which the digvijaya of Yaśodharman is recorded leaves no doubt that he defeated Mihirakula in the last and in the North We know that after his defeat at the hands of Baladitya Mihirakula had *gone over to the North* Therefore *it is more reasonable to hold* that after his victory over the Gupta lord Yasodharman marched forward and forced his authority over Mihirakula who was ruling harshly and arrogantly over the North and West of India including Kashmir

1 I A XXXIV pp 73ff.

2 C I I III No 35 pp 150ff

3 CCGDBM pp LVII LVIII

4 C I I III No 35 p 151

5 J R A S 1909 Pt I pp 89 93 J A S B LVIII p 96

person and he relied on the phrase '*Sa eva*' occurring in the inscription [1]

Jayaswal[2] also held the same view, maintaining that 'the very same events' are mentioned in both the inscriptions—the Mandasore stone inscription of Yaśodharman[3] and the Mandasore stone inscription of Yaśodharman and Visnuvardhana [4] Yaśodharman in the former inscription is mentioned as Samrat and gaining victories in the East and the North, while Visnuvardhana is referred to as '*Naradhipati*' *Rajadhiraja and Paramesvara*' while Yasodharman as *Janendra* in the latter Therefore, it is obvious that both Yaśodharman and Viṣnuvardhana were addressed by imperial titles Jayaswal[5] posed a pertinent question, "how could two persons within very few years acquire sovereignty over the same area and both be emperors?" Both are mentioned in the records of the same place and also in one and the same record Therefore Jayaswal rightly concluded that "One was not a subordinate of the other, the *Paramesvara* and the supreme King of Kings of India Visnuvardhana was identical with *Samrat* Yaśodharman "[6] D C Sircar[7] comes to the same conclusion It is possible that Yasodharman because of his popularity was also given the honorific 'Janendra'. We feel certain that Visnuvardhana and Yaśodharman are identical

Yaśodharman—Visnuvardhana had brought a large part of Northern India under his control, and liberated the country from the Huna yoke He appears to have been a good ruler who gave protection to the earth, was steadfast in successful carrying out of vows for the benefit of its mankind, and was cre-

1 C I I III No 35 line 5 Fleet (note 5) observed that this expression (se eva) looks at first sight as if Yasodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana were the same person —But he concluded that they are different persons

2 I A XLVI pp 145

3 C I I III No 33 p 177

4 *Ibid* No 35 pp 155 56

5 I H I p 41

6 *Ibid*

7 S I I p 386, Note 2

dited with good intentions at a time when "kings were cruel through want of proper training and transgressed the path of good conduct and were destitute of virtuous delights"[1] But the attempt of Yaśodharman to re-establish a North-Indian empire in place of the fast dissolving Gupta empire was shortlived, as we don't know anything more about his empire and his successors, nor do we know what happened to him and when he died. But the facts that so early as in 224 G E (≈543 A.D) Pundravardhana was ruled by a Gupta prince meditating on the feat of a Gupta emperor,[2] and in 533—34 A D, Sarvanatha continued to use the Gupta era in Central India,[3] prove that Yasodharman's success was ephemeral.

Visnu Gupta

We have already seen that Yaśodharman must have defeated the Gupta emperor Kumara Gupta III. The references about the tableland 'embraced by (the river) Gangā' and the extent of territories 'not enjoyed by the Gupta-lords',[4] and the defeat of 'the very mighty king' of the east and the north'[5] clearly point to the success of Yasodharman over the Gupta emperor Kumāra Gupta III may have died in the fight in *cir* 530 A D and was succeeded by his son Viṣṇu Gupta, who is referred to as *Mahārajadhiraja Paramabhagavata* in his seal discovered at Nalandā[6] Unfortunately the name of the mother of Visnu Gupta and the Mahādevi of Kumāra Gupta is lost, but the importance of the seal lies in the fact that it carries the genealogy of the Gupta sovereigns a generation further than was known before.[7] Only four lines, those also damaged, are extant

1 C I I III No 33 p 147
2 E I XV pp 114 15
3 C.I I III No 31 pp. 135 ff, for the era see *Supra*
4 C.I I III No 33 p 148
5 *Ibid* No 35. p 156
6. E I XXVI Pt. V. pp 235 ff
7 *Ibid*

and contain the name of Pu (ru) Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, and Kumāra Gupta III.

Coins of Visnu Gupta Chandrāditya

We have Archer-type gold coins of Visnu Gupta Chandrāditya weighing from 147 4 to 152 0 grains and with the letter 'u' between the feet of the king on the obverse [1] These coins are from Kalighāt hoard.[2] Allan[3] put Visnu Gupta in *cir* A D 540 to 560 A D, and presumed that Visnu Gupta was the successor of Kumara Gupta [4] Hoernle[5] attributed these coins to Visnuvardhana, and took the reverse legend to be 'Dharmāditya' as according to him Chandrāditya is 'in truth an impossible Sanskrit compound' [6] He also explained the letter 'u' to signify the mint of Ujjain But the attribution of these coins to Yaśodharman—Visnuvardhana is hardly tenable We have already seen that Hoernle attributed the coins of Prakaśāditya to Yaśodharman—Visnuvardhana on the ground that on those coins there was the letter 'u', standing for Ujjain But this is no evidence at all On the coins of the later imperial Guptas there are to be found such mysterious letters as 'gre', 'go' 'ja', 'bhā', exactly in the same position as the 'u' on the coins of Visnu The reverse legend on the coins of Visnu is certainly Chandrāditya, which is a quite well established Sanskrit word.[7] There is absolutely no basis to assume that Yaśodharman—Visnuvardhana issued these coins with the title of Chandrāditya, as Hoernle[8] would lead us to think As for no 'Gupta' on the coins it is not an over-riding evidence to hold that the coins could not belong to a Gupta king Many coins of Narasimha

1 CCGDBM pp 145 46, CIM I p 121
2 CCGDBM p XXXVI
3 *Ibid* p 145
4 *Ibid* p LXI
5 JRAS 1903 p 552
6 CCGDBM p LXI Note 2.
7 *Ibid*
8 JRAS 1903 pp 552 53

Gupta have only 'Nara' and there is no other inscript them[1] Smith[2] rightly described Hoernle's attribution possible' Smith[3] identified Visnu Gupta Chandraditya coins with the later Gupta king of the same name, assigned the period to be about 700 A D and held that certainly not included in the list of the imperial G Altekar[5] also once identified Viṣṇu Gupta of the coin the king of the later Gupta dynasty. But the Naland has brought out an imperial Gupta ruler of the name o Gupta Therefore the basis of Hoernle's thesis that 'tl Visnu known in that period is the well known Visnuvar king of Malava'[7] is proved to be incorrect Allan's pr tion has again proved to be true, as the Nalanda se proved that Visnu Gupta was the son and successor of I Gupta as assumed by Allan[9] These coins of Visnu be unhesitatingly attributed to Visnu Gupta of the Nalan The aditya title Chandraditya on the coins agrees we the similar aditya titles found on the coins of all the emperors before Visnu Gupta, the presence of a my letter 'u' between the feet of the king on the obver absolute conformity with the practice common to the all later imperial Guptas from Prakaśaditya down The weight and purity of the coins also supports the tion, proposed by Krisnadeva[11] and accepted by Altekar average of the two variations of Kumara Gupta III's

1 CCGDBM pp 137 39 plate XXI Nos 8 12
2 CIM I p 121 Note 1
3 Ibid p 121
4 JASB 1894 p 202
5 JNSI III pp 57 ff
6 E I XXVI Pt V pp 225 ff
7 JRAS 1903 p 552
8 E I XXVI Pt V pp 235 ff
9 CCGDBM p LXI
10 Ibid pp 135 36 137 39 141 43
11 E I XXVI Pt V pp 235 ff
12 JNSI III pp 103 ff

149 2 and 149 5, while the average of Visnu Gupta Chand: ditya's coins is 148 3 grains[1] A comparison of the coins Kumāra Gupta III with those of Visnu Gupta Chandrādit leaves no doubt that the coins of Visnu Gupta are sligh heavier than those of Kumāra Gupta III, and must have clo ly followed the latter[2] These coins in style and nature ε certainly in line with the coins of the imperial Guptas, a the obverse and reverse of the coins are clear imitations the Archer type coins of the Guptas. Rapson[3] truly observ that they 'bear a great resemblance to those of Nara (Gupt Bālāditya and Kumāra Gupta II (III) Kramaditya', and suggested that Visnu Gupta succeeded Kumāra Gupta T British Museum laboratory report on the coins also prov this attribution The coins of Visnu Gupta have less perce tage of gold than the coins of Kumāra Gupta III Wh the coin of Kumāra Gupta III (No 576 BMC) has 54% gold, No 598 belonging to Visnu Gupta has only 43% of golc Most of these coins came from the Kalighāt hoard togeth with the coins of Narasimha Gupta and Kumāra Gup III All these numismatic considerations point to the on conclusion that the coins of Visnu Gupta followed those Kumāra Gupta III[5] This is confirmed by ep graphy fro which we learn that Viṣnu Gupta was the son of Kumā Gupta III

Visnu Gupta and M M K

Visnu Gupta may also be identified with 'Ukārākhya' of tl Ārya Mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa. According to this work, Ukārakh is said to have followed Kumāra[6] On the coins of Visnu Gup

1 CCGDBM CXXXIV.

2 CCGDBM pp 141-48, 145 46

3 Indian Coins p 26

4 Appendix Ia

5 Mr Allan agrees with our suggestion that the coins o Viṣṇu Gup should be placed immediately after Kumara Gupta III

6 I H I p 33

Chandrāditya there is the letter 'u' between the feet[1] His other name may have been Upendra, also meaning Viṣṇu The M M K.[2] also informs us that after him (Ukārākhya) there will be disunion or disruption So far as our present knowledge goes, Viṣṇu Gupta is the last Gupta emperor, and after him the dynasty appears to have ended and the kingdom disrupted. Therefore, there is no doubt that Viṣṇu Gupta, who followed Kumāra Gupta, is Ukarākhya of the M. M K., who is said to have followed Kumāra

Fifth Dāmodarpur Copper-plate and Visnu Gupta

The fifth Dāmodarpur copper-plate[3] dated in the Gupta year 224 (=543-44 A D), when the royal prince (Rājaputra-Deva-Bhattāraka) was governing the bhukti of Pundravardhana, should be assigned to the period of Visnu Gupta. The inscription refers to the imperial ruler as '*Prithivipati Paramadaivata, Parama-bhaṭṭaraka Mahārajadhiraja Śri Gupta* ' Unfortunately the portion which certainly gave the name of the sovereign is irreparably damaged Basak[4] restored the name as Bhānu Gupta and read the date as '214' Dikshit[5] corrected the date as 224, and it was suggested[6] that the name may be Kumāra Basak[7] accepted the revised reading of the date Y. R Gupte[8] and Bhattasali[9] took the name to be Kumāra Gupta and identified him with Kumāra Gupta, the son of Narasimha Gupta Dandekar

1 CGGDEBM pp 145 46 XXIII p Allan reads the letter as 'ru' But we *feel* that it is 'u , 'ru' should have had a longer straight line and smaller loop below

2 *Ibid* Jayaswal identified Ukārakhya with Budha Gupta whom he took to the Prakasaditya of the coins, where is to be found letter 'u'

3 E I XV pp 114 15, XVII p 193

4 E I XV pp 114 15

5 *Ibid* XVII p 193

6 *Ibid*, note 1

7 HNEI pp 92 93

8. JIH IV p 118

9 E.I XVII p 84

and Sircar[1] took him to be the later Gupta king Kumāragupta Sen[2] suggested that he was Dāmodaragupta, son of Kumaragupta of the later Gupta dynasty Sen[3] has no doubt that the Damodarpur inscription belongs to a later Gupta king Raychaudhuri[4] thinks that "it is possible, but by no means certain, that one of these kings (Krisnagupta, Harṣagupta, and Jivitagupta) is identical with the Gupta emperor mentioned in the Dāmodarpur plate of A D 543 44 A D" He further observed that "the ruler whose name is missing may represent one or another of the 'Gupta' lines known to scholars or some new line."[5] According to Majumdar, "it appears very probable that the overlord in question belonged to the dynasty of the later Guptas who claimed suzerainty over Northern Bengal down to the end of the 6th century A. D.'[6] R D. Bannerji[7] took him to be Bhanu Gupta

It may be pointed out at the outset that there is hardly enough space where the name of the emperor was engraved, to contain four letters 'Dāmodara' Moreover from the Haraha inscription[8] we learn that Kumaragupta and Īśanavarman were contemporaries, and the inscription is dated in 554 A D during the reign of Īśanavarman. It is very unlikely that Dāmodra Gupta, son of Kumaragupta, would be ruling with full imperial titles in 543-44 A. D It is also to be borne in mind that neither Kumaragupta nor Damodaragupta is known by such high-sounding imperial titles in the Aphsad inscription[9] of their illustrious descendant Ādityasena. Bhanu Gupta is not an imperial ruler at all, and it is not safe to take him as ruling in

1 Dandekar *op cit* S I I p 33 note 4
2 Sen *op cit* pp 239 40
3 *Ibid* p 239
4 P H A I (4th edn) p 507
5 *Ibid* note 3
6 HBR I p 49
7 Bannerji *op cit* p 59
8 E I XIV pp 110 ff
9 C I I III No 42 pp 200 ff

was virtually a prisoner on the throne satisfied with the shadow of imperial privileges devoid of real power. The sudden and sweeping offensive of Yaśodharman almost put out the already dimly burning lamp of the imperial Gupta dynasty, and Visnu Gupta was, perhaps, its last perishing flicker. The empire did not survive the shock administered to it by Yaśodharman, but the dynasty lingered on for sometime The quick disappearance of Yaśodharman from the stage of history explains the continuance of the dynasty for sometime more. But it was all in vain Most probably Pundravardhana was conquered by Mahābhūtavarman, the king of Kāmarūpa. Almost the whole of the Uttar-Pradesh was under the Maukharis Even in Magadha, the feudatory family of Krisnagupta was in real power. Thus the Gupta empire was already a carcass, and vultures were actually hovering over it.

The period of Viṣnu Gupta's stay on the throne was pretty long, though it only meant the prolongation of the death-pangs of the dying empire. As compared to the coins of Narasiṁha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta III, so far known to us, we have a very large number of Visṇu Gupta's coins in the Indian Museum (Calcutta), the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), the Fritzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), the Huntarian Museum (Glasgow), and the British Museum (London). This does suggest that his rule was fairly long. From a passage in a Jaina work, Harivamśa[1], we come to know that the illustrious rule of the Guptas lasted for two-hundred and thirty-one years. Fleet[2] remarked that "Jinasena has hit off pretty accurately the duration of the Gupta power." Therefore, the rule of the Gupta dynasty may have come to an end in (319 + 231 =)550-1 A. D. In the Kālighāṭ hoard Visnu Gupta's coins were presumably last in time. It appears that the hoard was buried in his reign with a large number of gold coins. So Visnu Gupta was . . . of the imperial dynasty and his reign

importance. The province of Puṇḍravardhana had a special strategic importance and, being recently over-run by a great conqueror, needed special care. It was because of these reasons that a royal prince was put in charge of the provincial administration.[1]

It is not easy to fix the limits of the reign of Viṣṇu Gupta Chandrāditya. It is no doubt true that he issued seals and coins and was referred to with imperial titles like his predecessors. His authority in North Bengal was recognised, and his hold on Magadha may be easily presumed. His seal has been found at Nālandā. Most of his coins were from the Kālighāṭ hoard. One of his coins was found in Cuttack, but it is too much to conclude from this that "his kingdom comprised Cuttack district as well."[2] But the disintegration of the empire, which had begun since the death of Budha Gupta, had now approached its final end. Viṣṇu Gupta may have been content with the use of the imperial titles and the issue of debased coins, but he had lost real power. All round the once-great empire, new powers were rising in importance and behaving as practically independent. The Maukharis in the Uttar-Pradesh, the Vardhanas in Western U. P. and the Eastern Punjab, the later Guptas in Magadha, Dharmāditya in East Bengal, and a few other powers began to contest for the imperial honour even when the emperor was alive. Like Shah Alam II, Viṣṇu Gupta was an eye-witness to the slow death of the empire. He had lost real power, and

1. R. C. Majumdar (EHBR. p. 15) is of the opinion that "Rājaputra Deva Bhaṭṭāraka of the fifth Damodarpur plate does not mean the son of the emperor but the son of the local king. In our humble opinion the simpler meaning of the expression is the son of the emperor. The use of the words 'Deva' and 'Bhaṭṭāraka' suggests the high status of the governor; he was a son of the emperor. Was 'Deva' the name of the prince?

The M. M K appears to mention one Deva as a king of Magadha after Ukārākhya and the disunion in the kingdom (I H. I V. 676 Text, p. 50). It may be that after the death of Visnu Gupta, his son Deva may have tried to succeed him, but we know that Visnu Gupta was followed by later Gupta rulers, Kumāragupta and Dāmodaragupta. No coins of Deva are found.

2. J. N S I III p. 57

543-44 A D, when we met him in 510 11 A D A comparison of the fifth Damodarpur plate with the other four Damodarpur plates, definitely belonging to the imperial Gupta rulers like Kumara Gupta I and Budha Gupta, leaves no doubt that it was also issued by a Gupta emperor using similar titles and carrying on the same type of administration [1] The scholars felt shy to attribute the fifth Damodarpur plate to an imperial Gupta ruler because they had identified Kumara Gupta of the Bhitari seal with he of the Sarnath inscription and therefore could not think of an imperial Gupta ruler in 543 44 A D But we have already shown that the chronology of the later imperial Guptas is to be revised, and in 543 44 A D, a scion of the imperial Gupta dynasty could be easily on the throne He may be Kumara Gupta III, but as we have suggested that his rule must have ended with the rise of Yaśodharman, it is more possible that the missing name in the Damodarpur inscription is Visnu Gupta, who is given imperial titles in the Nalanda seal,[2] and who issued gold coins with the aditya title, Chandraditya [3] The damaged portion of the plate could have easily contained the name 'Visnu' Visnu Gupta was the son and successor of Kumara Gupta III and in our scheme of chronology it is obvious that Visnu Gupta was the imperial suzerain in 543-44 A D, and his son was governing the province of Pundravardhana bhukti Therefore the overlord referred to in the Damodarpur plate was Visnu Gupta [4] We have seen that Viṣnu Gupta succeeded to a difficult situation Yaśodharman had over run the eastern country up to the Lauhitya [5] In East Bengal the successors of Gopachandra[6] were enjoying imperial status and, in Kamarūpa the Varmans were rising in

1 E I XV pp 110 ff
2 E I XXVI pp 235 ff
3 CCGDBM pp 145 46
4 EHBP I pp 14 15
5 C.I I III No 33 pp 147-48
6 Gopachandra Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva's inscriptions with imperial titles have been found in the district of Faridpur, (I A XXXIX pp 193-216 P I XVIII pp 74 ff)

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1. I. A. XV p. 142
2. *Ibid.* p. 143.

may have ended in *Cir.* 550 A. D. The Amauna copper plate of Mahārāja Nandana[1] is dated in (Gupta) samvat 232(=551-2 A. D.) and instead of mentioning the name of the emperor with the usual titles, it mentions Nandana's guru. It may be that at that time there was no Gupta emperor worth the name on *the throne.* The *last days of Viṣṇu Gupta must have been* overclouded with deadly conflicts of the Maukharis and the later Guptas, and it was actually amidst the rattling of swords between these that the imperial dynasty breathed *its last,* almost unnoticed.

1. E. I. X pp. 49 ff. If the phrase 'meditating on Deva-guru', means meditating on king and guru, then it may be suggested that Deva may as well be the name of the king. He may be Deva, the king of Magadha of the M. M. K. and Rājaputra Deva Bhaṭṭāraka of the 5th Dāmodarpur plate; or was Deva, the king, also a teacher or preceptor of Nandana ?

CHAPTER V

LATER GUPTAS AND THEIR HOME

Cir 500—600 A D

The Gupta Empire's good days were over with the death of Skanda Gupta Budha Gupta no doubt presided over a large extent of the empire, but there is no denying the fact that there were some premonitions of the impending break up The absence of the name of the Gupta overlord in the land grants of the Parivrajaka Maharaja Hastin,[1] of the Maitrakas of Valabhi[2] and in the inscriptions Prabhakara[3] and Lakṣmana,[4] certainly points to the loosening of the central authority and the consequent rise of the local authorities and feudal vassals Successors of Budha Gupta—Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta III and Visnu Gupta—no doubt, sat on the imperial throne of their ancestors, but they proved themselves too weak to arrest the fast dissolution of the empire, reared up energetically by Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II and saved by the heroic exertions of Skanda Gupta. The last dated record of the time of the imperial Guptas is the 5th Damodarpur copper plate of 224 G E (=543 544 A D) [5] The nature of the inscription, and the mention of the titles of the ruler (whose full name is lost) certainly suggest that he was a member of the imperial Gupta dynasty, and we have identified him with Visnu Gupta Chandraditya of the Nalanda seal [6] But there is no doubt that the vast Gupta Empire had already crumbled, and as is very common in Indian History, various powers arose in the north

1 C I I III No 21 pp 96ff, No 22pp 107ff
2 J B B R A S I (N S) pp 13fff
3 A S I A R 1922 23 p 187, E I XX App p 2
4 E I Vol II pp 364 ff
5 E I XVII p 193
6. See *Supra*

and the south to fill the vacuum The later Guptas, the Maukharis, Pusyabhutis in Northern India, the Kalachuris and the Chalukyas in the south came forward to compete for the heritage of the imperial Guptas

The Gangetic valley was the economic nerve centre of Northern India, and indeed of the whole of India, and was therefore its political hub as well The trade of the Northern India passed down the Ganga to the sea-ports of Eastern India, and therefore with the disappearance of the authority of the imperial Guptas by the first half of the 6th century, incessant sword-rattling went on among many ambitious powers, particularly the later Guptas, the Maukharis, and the Kalachuris, to become masters of the rich Gangetic basin in order to control its vast trade and alluvial soil It is clear from the history of India that the power that succeeds in getting the mastery over the Central-Gangetic plain—Magadha particularly—ultimately extends its authority on the lower as well as the upper Gangetic valley, and makes itself predominant in Northern India and sometimes in Southern India as well The southward push of the northern power has brought, as a reaction, a consequent challenge by the southern powers to preside over the destiny of Northern India The activities of the Satavahanas, the Kalachuris, the Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Cholas and the Marathas in Northern India may be studied as reactions against the offensive of the Mauryas, the imperial Guptas, Harsavardhana, and the great Mughals in the south of the Vindhyas The Mauryas and the imperial Guptas had become paramount sovereigns over northern as well as large parts of southern India from their centre in Magadha Therefore, after the downfall of the Gupta empire, the later Guptas (so called, to distinguish them from the imperial Guptas), the Maukharis, etc were anxious to succeed to the imperial Gupta traditions and mas-ry over Northern India, particularly Magadha The str[illegible] between the later Guptas and the Maukharis cons[illegible] main theme of the history of Magadha after the [illegible] of the Gupta empire.

Lineage of the later Guptas

The lineage of the later Guptas—the dynasty known from the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena[1] and the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II[2]—is not known. The names of all these kings, with the exception of Ādityasena, end in 'gupta'. But except this common suffix there is nothing positive to connect them with the imperial Gupta dynasty The Aphsad inscription[3] begins the genealogy with Krisnagupta and mentions no predecessor of his, nor is the name of the dynasty mentioned except that Krisnagupta was 'of good descent', a vague term that sheds no light on the problem It is no doubt tempting,—in view of the suffix 'gupta' and the discovery of their inscriptions[4] in Magadha and its neighbourhood, the seat of the imperial Gupta dynasty—to connect them with the imperial dynasty. Some[5] have taken Krisnagupta to be the same person as Govinda Gupta of the Basarh seal[6] But there appears to be no basis for this identification Krisnagupta, the ancestor of Ādityasena, flourished much later than Govinda Gupta, son of Chandra Gupta II and Dhruvaswāmini The fact that in their inscriptions the later Guptas do not claim the imperial dynasty as their own,—an honour which if justified they would have trumpeted with pride and gusto,—is a strong argument against the temptation of regarding them as the direct descendants of the imperial Guptas Similarity of name-ending may be accidental or a result of imitation without much significance Many Pratihara and Pala rulers had identical names, e g Mahipāla and Devapāla, and we find rulers of Mahakosala with names ending in 'gupta' The facts that Krisnagupta is called a mere 'nripati' and his son Harṣagupta is

1 C I I III No 42 pp 201ff
2 *Ibid* No 46 pp 217 ff
3 *Ibid* No 42 pp 205ff
4 *Ibid* No 42 pp 201ff, Nos 44 & 45 pp 212ff, No 43 pp 208ff No 45 pp 214ff
5 J B R S XXX pp 199ff
6 ASIARI 1903 4 pp 102ff

addressed with the simple epithet 'śrī'[1] makes it clear that the origins of the family were modest. The family was most probably one of the feudatory families of the Gupta empire, and like many others came into importance during the years of the rapid desiccation of the empire during the last years of the 5th and first half of the 6th centuries after Christ.

It is certainly within the realm of possibility that to strengthen their claim as the legitimate successors of the imperial Guptas in Magadha and to catch the imagination and traditional loyalty of the masses to the House of the 'Guptas', they adopted 'gupta' as the suffix to their name. Of course there is nothing to disprove that these later Guptas might have been distantly related to the imperial family and had some particular reason for not proclaiming their descent from the imperial family. In the present state of our knowledge the subject is yet *sub judice.*

The Ancestral Home of the later Guptas

Far more important and still more controversial is the question, what was the original home or the centre of activity of the later Guptas from Kṛiṣṇagupta to Mādhavagupta? There could hardly be any difference of opinion on the fact that from Ādityasena down to Jīvitagupta II Magadha was the centre of their activities. This is clear from the provenance of the inscriptions of Ādityasena, Viṣṇugupta, and Jīvitagupta II. But the problem of the home of the ancestors of Ādityasena baffles all solutions. The inscriptions of Ādityasena, giving his genealogy, have been found in Magadha. This leads to a strong presumption that his predecessors also ruled in Magadha, unless otherwise proved. Fleet[2] therefore regarded these rulers as belonging to the dynasty of the later Guptas of Magadha, to distinguish them from the imperial Guptas.

But many scholars find it difficult to believe that the line of Kṛiṣṇagupta from the very start ruled in Magadha.

1. C. I. I III. No 42 pp 205ff
2. *Ibid* intro p. 14.

the 'existence of two associates of Harsa, each having the name of Madhavagupta, is not known to the biographer of Harsa' Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta are called by Bana 'sons of the king of Malava[1] and therefore Mahasenagupta, father of Madhavagupta,[2] was the king of Malwa, not of Magadha. It is further urged[3] that there is no place for the later Guptas in Magadha, which was under the Maukharis, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman as is clear from the Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II,[4] which says 'not a word about the later Gupta contemporaries in connection with the previous grant of the village ___ but the sovereignty of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line Then we have the inscriptions of the Maukhari 'varmans' in the caves of Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills,[5] belonging to the later Gupta period Yuan Chwang,[6] who visited Magadha in the time of Harṣa, speaks about Śaśanka and Purnavarman but does not say a word about Madhavagupta or his father in connection with Magadha The learned scholar concludes that "the father of only Madhava gupta, whom the biographer of Harṣa knew to be the associate of his royal patron, was a king of Malwa, and that in the time of Harṣa and a little before it direct rule over Magadha was exercised not by the Guptas but by the Varmans" [7]

Mr Edward A Piers is of opinion that the Maukharis ruled in Magadha from very early times He identifies Kṣatravarman of Bana as a Maukhari King of Magadha and the Magadha kula of the Kaumudimahotsava with the Maukhari dynasty, and he concludes that 'the Maukharis actually dominated Magadha before Chandragupta I usurped the throne from them,[8] and when the Guptas succeeded Sundaravarman's dynasty on the throne

1 Harṣacharita (CT) p 119
2 C. I I III No 42 pp 205ff.
3 J B O R S XV p 651
4 C. I I III No 46 p 218 (*translation*)
5 *Ibid.* Nos 48-50 pp 221ff
6 Records Vol II pp 118 20
7 J B. O R S XV pp 651ff
8 E A Piers, *The Maukharis* pp. 14 16

Hoernle[1] regarded them to belong to a branch of the imperial Gupta family, ruling in Eastern Malwa Vaidya[2] thinks that '*the family mentioned in the Aphsad inscription ruled in Malwa* (Eastern Malwa) at Ujjain until Devagupta, the contemporary of Rājyavardhana, was killed in battle by him and the kingdom seized *by* Harsa *in 606 A D*', *but to be fair to* Vaidya, *it may* be pointed out that as to his 'surmise that the later Gupta line came from Malwa' he does not seem to 'speak with the same certainty'.[3] Dr. R K Mookerji is also of the same opinion and believes that 'the fortunes of Malwa and the family had a final set-back in the defeat of Devagupta by Rājya, followed by the annexation of the kingdom by Harsa, and extinction of the Guptas of Malwa . . and Harsa provided his friend Mādhavagupta as the ruler of Magadha'[4] Dr H C. Raychaudhuri holds that Malwa was ruled by the Gupta dynasty, and 'in the time of Ādityasena, Magadha now replaces Eastern Malwa as the chief centre of Gupta power.'[5]

The sheet anchor of the theory of the Eastern Malwa origin of the later Guptas is the identification of Mādhavagupta of the Aphsad inscription[6] with Mādhavagupta of the Harsacharita.[7] On the ground that Mādhavagupta of the Harsacharita was a constant companion of Harsa, and Madhavagupta of the Aphsad inscription was 'desirous of the company of Harṣa', Hoernle[8] suggested that they were identical. He has been followed by most of the scholars like, Vaidya, R K. Mookerji, H C. Raychaudhuri and others. R D. Bannerji was the only exception who threw doubts on this identification;[9] but that drew a spirited reply from H. C Raychaudhuri,[10] who observed that

1 J R A.S 1903 p 551ff
2 HMHI.T. p 24
3 *Ibid* p 40
4 Harṣa, pp. 53-56.
5 P H A I. 4th Edn *pp.* 492-493
6. C I.I III No 42. pp. 203ff.
7. Harṣacharita (CT.) p 119
8. J. R. A. S 1904
9. J. B O. R S. XIV pp 254ff.
10. *Ibid* Vol XV *pp* 631ff.

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1. *Harṣacharita* (CT.) p. 119.
2. C. I. I. III No. 42 pp. 205ff.
3. J. B. O. R. S. XV p. 651.
4. C. I. I. III No. 46 p. 218 (translation)
5. *Ibid.* Nos. 48-50 pp. 221ff
6. Records Vol. II. pp 118-20.
7. J. B. O. R. S. XV pp 651ff.
8. E. A. Piers, The Maukharis pp. 14-16.

of Pataliputra, the Maukharis were relegated to a corner of Magadha the (Gaya district) there to rule as petty and subordinate chieftains'[1] This dynasty of Yajña varman (known from Barabar and Nagarjuni Hill-Cave inscriptions) was succeeded by the dynasty of Harivarman, who was 'a sister's son or a brother's son of Anantavarman'[2] According to the learned scholar the imperial Maukhari dynasty continued to rule from Magadha, probably from Pataliputra[3] as the capital, where Grahavarman was killed by the king of Malwa Naturally in his scheme of chronology and lay out of the facts the later Guptas were rulers of Malwa He observes ' the common characterisation of Madhavagupta as a companion of Harsa is in my opinion a sufficient ground to identify two kings of this name mentioned by Bana, and the engraver of the Aphsad inscription From this it follows that the later Guptas up to (but not including) Madhavagupta should be regarded as kings of Malwa"[4]

A careful analysis of the arguments urged by the learned scholars in support of the Malwa origin of the later Guptas shows that the theory rests on two basic conclusions firstly that Madhavagupta of the Aphsad instription is identical with Madhavagupta, the Malava Rajaputra of Bana, and therefore his father and predecessors were kings of Malwa and secondly, that the sovereignty of the Maukharis in Magadha, proved on epigraphic evidence, precludes any possibility of the rule of the later Guptas in Magadha In spite of there being no positive proof, we feel that unless otherwise definitely known Madhavagupta, the son of Mahasengupta, was the same person as Madhavagupta, the son of the king of Malwa As to the second assumption, it is interesting to note that Dr R. C Majumdar[5] has recently observed that "the Deo-Barnārka ins-

1 *Ibid* p 45
2 *Ibid* p 53
3 *Ibid* pp 152 53
4 *Ibid* p 59
5. I C. I pp. 214ff

cription does not prove the possession of Magadha or any part thereof by the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman _and the village granted might not be Varunika (Deo-Barnārka) but Kisoravataka (another village mentioned in the inscription,[1] which might have been in the Uttara Pradesha, outside Magadha' But according to our humble opinion the reading of the inscription (which certainly is much damaged), appears to leave hardly any doubt that Varunika was the village which was the subject matter of the grant. However, in the present state of our knowledge, we are inclined to agree that the inscription does suggest the exercise of sovereignty by Śarvavarman and Avantivarman over some parts of Magadha

But the validity of the above propositions does not falsify the view held by us that the craddle of the activities of Kṛisnagupta and his successors down to Madhavagupta was the country of Magadha, the centre of power of the Guptas It appears to us difficult to defend the theory of the Malwa origin of the later Guptas against the historical data contained in the Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena [2] It is recorded about Mahāsenagupta, the father of Mādhavagupta and son of Dāmodaragupta, that 'his mighty fame marked with the honour of victory in war over Śri Susthitavarman_is still sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya'.[3] Some believe that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari Fleet,[4] Thomas,[5] R K Mookerji[6] and Vaidya[7] held this view But the discovery of the Nidhanapur plates[8] of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, and his Nalandā seal,[9] and comparison of them with Harsacharita[10] make it abso-

1 C I I III No 46 pp 214ff There is really no mention of a village named Kiśoravaṭaka in the inscription (see infra)
2 C I I III No 42 pp 205
3 *Ibid* pp 206ff
4 *Ibid*, Introduction p 15
5 H C (Trans) Prefaces p XI, Note 3
6 Harṣa p 55
7 H M H I I p 55
8 E I XII pp 62
9 MASI No 66 p 69, J B O R S V, pp 302ff, VI pp 151ff
10 H C (CT) p 217

lutely clear that *Susthitavarman*, defeated by Mahasenagupta on the banks of the Lauhitya, was not a Maukhari prince but a king of Kamarupa There is almost unanimity on this point among scholars like Raychaudhuri,[1] Majumdar,[2] Tripathi[3] and R D Bannerje [4] Dr Raychaudhuri[5] further observes that the victory of Mahasenagupta over Susthitavarman of Kamarupa does not at all prove that Mahāsenagupta could not be a king of Malwa A ruler of Malwa, Yaśodharman, had recently extended his conquest up to the Lauhitya [6] So the learned scholar suggests that another king of Malwa, Mahasenagupta, could have won a victory on the banks of the Lauhitya He writes, "Kumaragupta had pushed to Prayaga and Damodaragugta had 'broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis', the same power which we have already seen, had control of Magadha, a little before Harsa The Gauda expansion had already been stopped for a time by the victories of Iśanavarman What was there to prevent the son of Damodaragupta, (who might have assumed command after the death of his father in the battle field) from pushing on to the Lauhitya"

A critical examination of the above quoted sentences suggests the following deductions —(a) the victories of Kumaragupta and Damodaragupta over the Maukharis were decisive, and the later Guptas extended their authority from Malwa to the Gangetic valley and upto the Lauhitya , (b) Mahasenagupta, the son of Damodaragupta, capitalised these victories and extended his conquests up to the Lauhitya and defeated his adversary, a king of Kamarūpa, on the banks of the Brahmaputra , (c) the expansion was therefore eastward from Malwa to Prayaga and from Prayaga to the Lauhitya , (d) this should have naturally meant over-running Magadha and Northern

1 P H A I 3rd Edn p 408, J B O R S XV pp 651ff
2 History of Bengal Vol I pp 56 57
3 J B O R S pp 56 57
4 T K pp 47 49
5 J B O R S XV pp 651ff
6 *Ibid* XV pp 651ff

Bengal , (e) from this it follows that probably Damodaragupta and certainly Mahasenagupta controlled Magadha But the evidence of the Deo Baranark inscription, according to the learned scholar himself, proves the sovereignty of the Maukharis—Śarvavarman and Avantivarman-over Magadha Śarvavarman was a contemporary of Damodaragupta, who fought the Maukhari, and who is probably Śarvavarman, of the Deo-Baranark inscription Damodaragupta died fighting him , and therefore it is certain that Mahasenagupta was the contemporary of Śarvavarman Thus it is clear that the testimony of the Aphsad inscription when read together with the Deo-Baranark inscription, does suggest a situation when either we have to suppose that at least for some time both the later Guptas and the Maukharis shared control of Magadha, or that the later Gupta king Mahasenagupta soon after his victory on the banks of the Lauhitya fell on evil days and lost Magadha to his *hereditary enemies, the Maukharis In any case the later* Guptas must have ruled over Magadha, either before the Maukhari rulers mentioned in the Deo Baranark inscription or after them In our view, it was earlier, because we have at least two, possibly three generations of the Maukhari overlords, 'Parameśwaras' ruling over some parts of Magadha [1] Naturally, therefore, it is hardly possible for the later Guptas to be masters of Magadha after them Coupled with this is the fact that Kumaragupta after his victory over Īsanavarman died at Prayaga, which, therefore, lay in his dominion—an inference admitted by Raychaudhuri [2] This further strengthens our hypothesis that the Maukhari push to the east from Kanauj (which was their centre), was not only repulsed but the later Guptas pushed towards the west as far as Prayaga Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the victory of Mahasenagupta on the banks of the Lauhitya raises a very strong presumption that he was already master of Magadha and

1 C I I III No 46 pp
2 P H A I 4th edn p 5

North Bengal[1] In view of the discussion above there seems to be not much force in the argument that "the sovereignty of Śarvavarman aud Avantivarman undoubtedly precludes the possibility of the direct rule of their contemporaries of the later Gupta line'[2] The inscription does not at all disprove the hypothesis that the centre of the later Gupta activities could have lain in Magadha What probably happened was that the Maukhari rule over Magadha was established in the later years of Mahasenagupta when his fortunes were at a low ebb He might have yielded to the offensive of Śarvavarman

Raychaudhuri tried to escape the dilemma by supposing that 'after the loss of Magadha, the later Guptas were, apparently confined to Malwa till Mahasenagupta once more pushed his conquests so far as the Lauhitya"[3] The learned scholar apparently means to say that Mahasenagupta extended his authority up to the Lauhitya from his centre in Malwa, evidently at the cost of the Maukharis, who were dominating the Uttara Pradesha and Bihar, including Magadha We have already seen that the l-arned scholar has admitted the victories of Kumaragupta and Damodaragupta over the Maukhari kings Iśanavarman and Śarvavarman Therefore the Maukhari rule over Magadha could be established only after the death of Damodaragupta, and we have two, possibly three, generations of the Maukhari family exercising sovereignty over Magadha[4] In view of this, it is hardly possible to accept the suggestion that Mahasenagupta could extend his authority over the head of the Maukhari kings, from Malwa to the Lauhitya It is therefore more plausible that Mahasenagupta's victory on the banks of the Lauhitya preceded the establishment of the Maukhari suzerainty over Magadha

Mr Piers, alive to the contradictions involved in the theory of the Malava origin of the later Guptas and the incontro-

1 CII III No 42 pp 205 ff
2 JBORS XV pp 617 ff
3 JBORS XV pp 617ff
4 CII III No 46 pp

vertible fact of Mahāsenagupta's victory on the Lauhitya and at the same time the proof of the Maukhari overlordship in Magadha, suggests a way out of the difficulty According to him "the Maukhari monarch must have been glad that the Malwa king had taken upon himself the dangerous task of subduing the imperial ambitions and humbling the 'unborn pride' of the far-eastern potentate Not satisfied with this, Magadha emperor might have even lent some assistance and encouragement to Mahasenagupta to march across Magadha"[1] This is a suggestion which is supported by not even the flimsiest evidence From the inscriptions of the later Guptas it is clear beyond doubt that the Maukharis and the later Guptas were stubborn enemies for many generations, and therefore the view of the learned scholar that the Maukhari ruler, whosoever he might have been, would allow, much less encourage his hereditary foe, the later Gupta contemporary to march through Magadha, is most illusory At the same time it is insulting (without any cause known) the intelligence of the great conqueror Mahasenagupta to suggest that he was drawing the chestnuts out of the fire for his hereditary enemy, the scion of the Maukhari family Such things hardly happen in *Realpolitik*[2] The Maukhari king could never have forgotten the bitter family feuds against the later Guptas Moreover, there is no sufficient explanation to show the pressing necessity for a king of Malwa to fight a king of Kamarūpa, when territories of independent rulers intervened In view of the discussion above, it should be clear now that for Mahāsenagupta to defeat the king of Kamarupa on the banks of the Lauhitya, his control of Magadha and Gauda was ne-

1 The Maukharis, p 102

2 Even in the Modern times when diplomacy is more advanced and unscrupulous compared to the old days we have the example of Poland refusing to allow the march of troops of Soviet Russia through Poland even when Russia's help to Poland against Nazi Germany, threatening the independence of Poland could only be effective by the Russian Army's march across the country The most important reason of Poland's refusal of Russia's offer was Poland's memories of Russo-Polish struggles in the past

cessary, and this could be only possible before the Maukharis conquered Magadha in the time of Śarvavarman

The theory of the Malwa origin of the later Guptas is further fatally affected by the positive testimony of epigraphy The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena[1] says that Jivitagupta, the son of Harsagupta and the third member of the dynasty, was "the very terrible scorching fever (of fear), left not (his) haughty foes even though they stood on sea side shores that were cool with the flowing and ebbing current of water (and) were covered by the branches of plaintain trees severed by the trunks of elephants, roaming through the lofty groves of the palmyra palms, or even though they stood on (that) mountain (Himalaya) which is cold with the water of rushing and waving torrents full of snow' The people who stood on the sea side shore are most likely the same people, the Gaudas, 'living on the sea shore' as mentioned in the Haraha inscription[2] At least it is obvious that Jivitagupta's exploits on the sea shore and the Himalayan regions confirm our point that his centre of activity was nearer Bengal than in far off Malwa

Some scholars on the authority of the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman and the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II, hold that in the middle of the sixth century the Maukharis were in possession of the United Provinces and the Rajshahi division of Bengal This, in their view, proves with tolerable certainty that Magadha, which was situated between these two countries, was under the sway of the Maukharis This falsifies that the early rulers of Krisnagupta's family ruled in Magadha, so long as the Maukharis were in power, (their stubborn enemies), the family of Krisnagupta had no place in Northern India from Bengal right up to the Punjab Hence on the authority of the Harsacharita we can take, almost with certainty, the early members of Krisnagupta's family as the rulers of Malwa "[3] But a critical examination of the

1 C. I I III No 42 pp 203 ff
2 E I XIV pp 119-120
3 Ganguli, JBORS XIX pp 319 ff.

evidence cited hardly substantiates the conclusion deduced above The Harāhā inscription of Īsānarvarman merely states *that he defeated the Gaudas living on the sea shore* This does not prove the rule of Īśānavarman, the Maukhari, over Gauda, much less the rule of the family for some time to come His campaign was most probably in the nature of a raid against the growing power of the Gaudas, who had already made themselves important in the time of Jivitagupta I[1] We have no evidence at all of the rule of the Maukharis over Gauda Then, it is known that Īsānavarman was defeated by Kumāragupta, son of Jivitagupta,[2] and this event certainly happened after the victory of Īsānavarman over the Gaudas It has been already made clear that the Maukhari dominion in Magadha could only have been possible after the death of Damodaragupta It is significant to note that both Ādityavarman and Īsvaravarman, grandfather and father of Īśānavarman, had married Gupta princesses[3] Therefore it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Gauda campaign of Īsānavarman might have been ostensibly in the nature of friendly assistance to the later Gupta contemporary, or to the last representative of the imperial Gupta dynasty It was after the ambition of Īśanavarman became patent to Kumaragupta, who found the imperial aspirations of the Maukharis clashing with the same objectives of his family, that he fought Īsanavarman and defeated him The Deo-Baranārk inscription[4] only shows that the Maukhari rule over Magadha was established in the time of Śarvavarman, and not before, as after the mention of Bālādityaraja, the first Maukhari ruler mentioned is Śarvavarman Thus the contents of the inscriptions do not lead to the conclusion that the early members of Kṛiṣṇagupta's line could not be the rulers of Magadha This is not inconsistent with the view that Mahāsenagupta may have been

1 C I I III No 42 pp 205 ff
2 *Ibid*
3 *Ibid* No 47 p 221
4 *Ibid* No 46 pp 217 ff

king of Malwa after losing his ancestral possession of Magadha to his enemies—the Maukharis

The opinion of Mr Piers[1] that the Maukharis were rulers *of Magadha even before the advent of the imperial Guptas* cannot be accepted as a sober conclusion. The chief basis of his thesis is the identification of the Kota family of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta with the Magadha kula of the Kaumudimahotsava, a play discovered by Ramakrisna Kavi The late Dr K. P Jayaswal[2] declared the drama to be a historical one, and identified the dynasty of Sundaravarman and Kalyanavarman—the Magadha-kula of the drama—with the Kota family He also identified Chandasena of the drama with Chandra Gupta I of the imperial Gupta dynasty The late Dr *Winternitz*[3] *challenged* Jayaswal's *dating* of the drama in question and his identification of Chandasena with Chandra Gupta I on many grounds The alleged *historicity of the drama cannot be established A learned* scholar has[3] rightly pointed out that "a careful study of the play will however reveal that several statements made therein are in conflict with the historical informations ascertained from the Gupta inscriptions . , it must therefore be concluded that the episode of the Kaumudimahotsava has no bearing whatsoever on the early Gupta history"[4] The name of Kalyanavarman is not mentioned in the list of the names of the defeated kings in the Allahabad inscription and also the family of Kalyanavarman is never mentioned as the Kota family in the play, these are facts that cannot be ignored. It is made clear that "the end of Chaṇdasena as described in the Kaumudimahotsava and his identification with Chandra Gupta I is impossible"[5] Dr Jayaswal's theory has been now 'justly

1 *The Maukharis* pp. 25-40

2 A B O R I XII pp 50 ff

3 Krisna Swami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume p 362

4 Jagan Nath—a volume of Eastern and Indian studies presented to F W Thomas 1939 pp 115 ff

5 I H Q XIV pp 382 ff

'rejected'[1] and 'declared untenable'[2] by scholars. Thus the foundation of Piers' thesis is destroyed. It may be pointed out that throughout the play there is absolutely no mention of the Maukharis or the Koṭa.

Similarly gratuitous is Piers' opinion that "the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman has revealed the fact that the Maukharis ruled in Magadha in the time of the early Kadambas.[3] The Chandravalli inscription[4] speaks of Mayūraśarman's conquests in Traikuṭa, Abhira, Pallava, Parīyātrika, Śakāsthāna, Sayindaka, Punaṭa, and *Mokari*, and then, it ends abruptly. Piers, following Dr. Krisna, believed that Maukhari is written as Mokari in the inscription. Dr. Jayaswal[5] challenged the reading of Dr. Krisna and held that the word Mokari does not occur in the inscription. But even if we accept the reading of Dr. Krisna, who in this particular instance is supported by Dr. D. C. Sircar[6], and we agree that it stands for the Maukhari, Mr. Piers[7] has no justification at all to jump to the conclusion that the Maukhari alluded to was the king of Magadha and that he was Kṣatravarman, the Maukhari king spoken of by Bāṇa, and that he was defeated by Mayūraśarman. Bāṇa[8] mentions the foolish king Ksatravarman, who being carried away by fondness for troubadours was cut down by bards, his enemy's emissaries. This is all that Bāṇa says about the Maukhari king Kṣatravarman, and as yet there is no other reference to him. In view of this it is impossible to fix his chronology and place him in the Maukhari genealogy. Cunningham[9] regarded him as the predecessor of Pūrṇavarman. Aravamuthan[10] places him earlier than the 5th century. Piers

1 A New History of Indian People Vol VI. p. 133 footnote 2.
2. *Ibid*
3 The Maukharis. p. 29.
4. A. S. I. A. R. 1929 No I. pp. 50 ff.
5. History of India. pp 220-221.
6. Select Inscriptions Vol. I. p 449.
7. The Maukharis pp. 20-22.
8. H. C. (CT.) p. 194.
9 C. A. S. R. XV. p. 166.
10. Aravamuthan the Kāveri, the Maukhari and the Sangam Age pp. 30 31.

may be right in suggesting that Ksatravarman may be earlier than Chandra Gupta II, but there is no ground to make the former a king of Magadha, contemporary with Mayuraśarman Bana does not say anything about the enemy whose emissaries cut down Ksatravarman Some have tried to place him in the imperial Maukhari dynasty of Harivarman[1] a view which has been proved to be untenable[2] We know of two more Maukhari families other than those of Harivarman and Yajnavarman Kṣatravarman might have belonged to the Maukhari family whose four inscriptions so far have been discovered at Badva,[3] in the Kotah state in Rajputana There is absolutely no ground to regard him as a king of Magadha, certainly nothing can be based on the uncorroborated and incomplete inscription of Mayurasarman No other Kadamba inscription speaks of Mayuraśarman's conquest of the Maukhari If he could have led a successful expedition against Magadha, the country of imperial tradition, the achievement must have been made an object of special mention in all the inscriptions of the Kadambas It is also to be noted that if Mayuraśarman had really raided Magadha from Mysore, then the inscription must have mentioned some of the neighbouring countries of Magadha It is well known that in various inscriptions of rulers and even feudatories when they lay claims to conquests of Magadha, (claims which are mere empty boasts) mention is made of Anga Vanga etc This further suggests that the scribe of the Chandravalli inscription had even no intention to refer to Magadha The campaigns referred to in the inscriptions are so extensive that it is difficult to believe that Mayuraśarman could have done all that the inscription ascribes to him Dr K A Sastri is thoroughly sceptical of the truth of the inscription and remarks 'This impossible recorod has all the appearance of a modern fake, and its evidence should await confirmation before accepted as

1 Pro & Trans of the 7th Oriental Conference
2 Jagan Nath—Woolner commemoration Volume Lahore 1940 p 116
3 E I XXIII pp 42 ff, E I XXIV pp 252 ff

history "[1] However, the Maukhari defeated by the Kadamba king could have been either a member of the Maukhari family of Badva[2] or the Maukhari family of Karnataka in the neighbourhood of Punata.[3] Whatsoever may be the case, there is absolutely no justification to make the Mayūrasarman conquer Magadha, and still less for making the king of Magadha, of the *time, to be a Maukhari*

Equally untenable is the suggestion that the imperial Maukhari line of Harivarman succeeded the line of Yajnavarman in Magadha and the capital of the Maukhari kingdom throughout was Pataliputra [4] It has been shown that the imperial Maukharis had their headquarters at Kanauj[5] and certainly not in Magadha The place of Yajñavarman's line[6] in the history of the Maukharis is not clear Vaidya assigned them 'to a date later than that of Harsa'[7] , Sen[8] regarded them as a feudatory family granted *a chieftainship by their more fortunate* brothers—the Maukharis of the United Provinces—following the defeat inflicted on the Gaudas , and according to some 'they ruled in the Bihar region as the governors of the Kanauj Maukharis', and 'were perhaps charged with the viceroyalty of Magadha region after its loss by Damodaragupta' [9] But these hypotheses are against the paloeographic evidence, pointed out by the late Dr N G Majumdar [10] It is important to remember that no member of Yajñavarman's family assumed *any sovereign and imperial titles To us there appears to be no*

1 New History of Indian People Vol VI p 238

2 E I XXIII pp 42 ff E I XXIV pp 252 ff The inscription of Mayuraśarman refers also to his conquest of Śakasthana which possibly indicates the kingdom of the *Śakas in Western India (Select Inscriptions* I p 450 footnote 1) The Maukharis of Badva in Rajputana were close enough to bear the weight of Mayura s aggression

3 B A Saletore—a volume of Indian and Iranian studies presented to Sir E Denison Ross Bombay 1939 pp 307 ff

4 The Maukharis pp 53 152

5 T K pp 32 36

6 C I I III Nos 48 50 pp 221 228

7 H M H I Vol I p 34.

8 B C Sen—Some Histor cal Aspects of the inscr ption of Bengal p 247

9 C R 1928 p 210

10 I A XLVI p 217

doubt that the Gaya family was a feudatory family owing allegiance to the later imperial Guptas Naturally, therefore, these inscriptions do not at all falsify our stand that the later Guptas were from the very beginning associated with Magadha and its neighbourhood first as feudatories or officers of the Gupta empire, and later on as the master of the same regions It is true that a clay seal with Pali legned 'Mokhalinam in the Mauryan Brahmi characters was found at Gaya[1] Dr Jayaswal[2] was probably right in regarding the Mauhari community of the Gaya and Patna districts as the descendants of the ancient Maukharis whose seal and inscriptions have been found in Gaya Therefore, there is no reason to dispute the fact that the Maukharis as a community were not unknown in Magadha even in the fourth century before Christ We have also the knowledge of another Maukhari family from their inscriptions found at Badva in Rajputana[3] The Maukharis of Yajnavarman's and Harivarman's lines are well known, with their centres in Magadha and Kanauj respectively. There is also some reference to a Maukhari family in Karnataka But there is absolutely nothing to connect any one of these with one another On the ground of Harivarman's line in Kanauj coming to power after the Gaya line Dr Tripathi felt that the theory of the westward migration of the Maukharis was strengthened But the discovery of the Maukhari inscription at Badwa proves the existence of a Maukhari family in the 3rd century A D, probably earlier than the family of Yajnavarman in Gaya district This *naturally throws serious doubts on the theory of the* westward migration of the Maukharis To us it appears that the Maukharis were a tribe whose different branches were spread in different areas One thing is clear, that there is no evidence at all for the existence of any Maukhari dynasty exercising any independent political power before the rise of the

1 C I III Intro p 14

2 The Kāverī the Maukharis and the Sangam Age p 80 foot note 1

3 E I XXIV pp 252 ff E I XXIII pp 42 ff

famıly of Harivarman about the middle of the sixth century after Christ

It is interesting to note that recently a learned scholar[1] has advanced the view that the later Guptas had their centre in Malwa and from the time of Kumaragupta had begun extending their sphere of influence eastward and came into conflict with the Maukharis, who were trying to expand their rule westward (presumably from their centre in the east), but the latter were successfully checked by the former Kumaragupta had extended his authority up to Prayaga in the east, and this eastward push of the later Guptas culminated in Mahasenagupta's triumph on the Lauhitya This is the only way in which the learned scholar could reconcile his faith in the Malwa origin of the later Gupta with Mahasenagupta's victory on the bank of the Lauhitya But this view runs counter to the positive testimony of the inscriptions The Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II[2] certainly proves the sovereignty of the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman The fact that this direct reference to the Maukhari supremacy over Magadha, or at least over some part of it, is contained in the record of their rival family (the Guptas), should be by itself sufficient to reject Saletore's thesis that 'much need not be made of the allusions of the powers of patronage of the Maukharis in the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II'[3] There is absolutely no basis to ignore the incontrovertible evidence of the inscription[4] and to hold that 'claims of the Maukhari possessions made in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II could not have been considerable'[5] The discovery of the Maukhari seals at Nalanda certainly raises a strong presumption of the Maukhari rule in Magadha The memory of the Varman (Maukhari) rule is alluded to in the Sirpur

1 Saletore R N, Life in the Gupta Age pp 56 57
2 C I I III No 46 p 217
3 Saletore *Op cit* p 68
4 C. I I III No 46 pp 217ff
5 Saletore *Op cit* p 68

stone inscription[1] The omission of the mention of any victory of the Maukharis over the later Guptas is easily explainable The Haraha *inscription of Īśanavarman*, dated 554 A D,[2] is the latest known record of the activities of the Maukharis, and the first known clash b tween the Maukharis and the later Guptas occurred after 554 A D Naturally the victories of the Maukharis over the later Guptas must have happened long after that *and therefore we do not find any mention of the former's* victory over the latter, which came in the time of Mahasena gupta It may be that in future we shall come across some inscriptions which throw some interesting light on this subject The seals[3] of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman found at Asir garh and Nalanda give only genealogical tables and no histori cal detail

Another objection against the view that the later Guptas came into importance in the east, in Magadha and its neighbourhood—not in Malwa— is that, as the imperial Guptas continued to be the masters of Magadha and Northern Bengal down to the middle of the sixth century after Christ, there is no place for the later Guptas in Magadha in this period, and after that the Maukharis came into possession of Magadha. Hence, there is no place for the later Guptas in Magadha at all[4] But the continuance of the imperial Gupta sovereignty in Magadha does not cancel the validity of our stand that the later Guptas had their original home in Magadha The last years of the Gupta *empire resembled to a great extent the situation* in India after the death of Aurangzeb The Mughal empire had practically disappeared, but the fiction of the Mughal sovereignty continued for a long time afterwards, and various local and provincial powers arose to share the spoils of the defunct empire, but at the same time they did not repudiate the formal sovereignty of the emperor, who was then no more than

1 E I XI p 195
2 E I XIV pp *110 ff*
3 C I I III No 47 p 221 E I XXI pp 73 74 *Ibid* XXIV pp 283f
4 J B O R S XIX pp 399ff

an institution which had taken deep roots in the life and imagination of the people and so could not be easily cast away by the numerous pretenders, rather they were anxious to use the name of the emperor and the dynasty ostensibly for the cause of the empire but really to grind their own axe. The Gupta empire after the death of Budha Gupta was fast crumbling to pieces, and centrifugal tendencies were coming to the forefront The invasions of Toramāna and Mihirakula added to the confusion and provided the most fruitful opportunity to the feudatories to raise their heads It was in this period that the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the Parivrājaka Maharajas of Central India, though accepting the suzerainty of the imperial Guptas, exercised the sovereign right of issuing land grants in their own name without mentioning the reigning suzerain. It was during these difficul days that the families of Harivarman and Krisnagupta came into importance It is quite possible that Krisnagupta or his successor became important and earned some special distinction in fighting the Hūnas, who invaded the heart of the Gupta empire in the time of Narasimha Gupta. At the same time on the eastern frontier of the empire a new dynasty of independent rulers had arisen in Eastern Bengal, and it sometimes encroached on the Western Bengal [1] Prakatāditya was most probably master of the region round Sarnāth[2] and might have claimed his right over the whole empire Further west were the Maukharis,[3] rising in power, on the Upper Gangetic valley, and in the south-west the Aulikaras[4] were practically masters of Malwa In those days of the fast shrinking of the empire the authority of the imperial Guptas was confined to Magadha and Gauda Almost continuous crises forced the weak emperors to depend on the family of

1 I A XXXIX p 193 J A S B VII N S pp 475 ff, E I XVIII p 75 E I XXIII pp 155ff

2 C. I I III No 79 pp 282ff

3 C. I I III No 51 pp 229ff E I XIV pp 219 ff

4 E I XXVI p 230, J B O R S XXIX pp 127 ff, A S I A R 1922 23 p 187 Bhandarkar's list of Northern India No 7 p 2, C. I I III No 35 pp 185ff

Kṛṣnagupta, which had helped the empire in the dark days of the Hūna invasions As has generally happened, in course of time this dependence further increased, and the result was that in the shadow of the name of the emperor and the imperial institutions well understood by the people—the family of Kṛṣnagupta went on adding to its power, and soon was strong enough to exercise the real authority in Magadha and Northern Bengal It is certainly significant to note that the Aphsad inscription[1] does not give any imperial titles to the members of Kṛṣnagupta's line This further confirms the suggestion that Krisnagupta and his successors began their career as feudatories of the empire, as provincial governors or high officers[2] Jivitagupta's campaigns in the Himalaya region and in south west Bengal may have been made in the name of the reigning Gupta emperor, to restore Gupta sovereignty in these regions recently over-run by Yaśodharman[3] There is no doubt about the fact that the successful campaigns of Yaśodharman (however temporary in result) whetted the appetite of all the ambitious feudatories, including the later Guptas Soon after the sudden exit of Yaśodharman, the successors of Harivarman began to entertain imperial ambitions[4] But it is profoundly important that even then the fiction of the traditional sovereignty of the Gupta emperor was pretty strong and no power of the Gangetic valley formally assumed imperial titles before Iśanavarman From the Harāhā inscription[5] it is clear that he could not have assumed the title of Maharājādhirāja long before 554 A D The last known date of the Gupta emperor is 543-544 A D[6] It appears therefore that Īs'ānavarman proclaimed himself Maharajadhiraja only after the imperial line became extinct Kumāragupta of the later Gupta dynasty was also waiting for this usurpation of the imperial titles

1 C I I III No 42 pp 205ff
2 A new History of Indian People VI p 208
3 C I I III No 33 p 148
4 *Ibid*, No 35 p 15
5 E I XIV pp 119ff
6 E I XIII, E I XVII

and traditions Therefore the two ambitious families, so long friendly, began serious hostilities, which continued for generations In the first round the later Gupta representative, Kumaragupta, triumphed over his Maukhari rival Īśanavarman[1] This victory really tranferred the *de facto* as well the *de jure* sovereignty of Magagha and Gauda to the family of Krisnagupta The family had already exercised real authority in the last years of the Gupta empire. Therfore it was not difficult for them to claim the extant parts of the empire for themselves The suffix 'gupta' also must have helped them to come forth as the legatees of the empire From Kumāragupta onwards we may safely regard the status of the family as completely independent But the change in status required great efforts to maintain their authority in the Gangetic valley As masters of the central Gangetic plains they were bound to attempt extentsion of their rule over the upper Gangetic basin The Maukharis also were influenced by the same political and economic considerations to extend their rule from their centre in the upper Gangetic Valley to the central and lower Gangetic basin The only natural result was a clash between the two The defeat of Īśanavarman did not result in the abandonment of the Maukharis' ambitions Śarvavarman made perhaps more than one attempt, but he was at first worsted in the fight with Damodaragupta[2] Mahasenagupta, who assumed command soon after the death of his father, in the battle-field, realised the seriousness of the situation Besides the terrible Maukhari on his western borders, he had to pay attention to the rising power of the Varmans in Kamarūpa So he contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Pusyabhūtis of Thāneśvara, a powerful kingdom on the western frontier of the Maukharis of Kanauj Making himself thus assured on his western frontier by offsetting the Maukhari menace by this alliance, he turned towards the Lauhitya and defeated Susthitavarman,[3]

1 C I I III No 42 pp 205ff
2 C. I I III pp 218 ff
3 C I I III No 42 pp 205ff

the king of Kāmarūpa. But soon after he appears to have been defeated by Śarvavarman, the Maukhari, who certainly annexed at least some parts of Magadha, as is clear from the Deo-Baranark inscription. Mahasenagupta might have been the king, who was defeated by Kirttivarman of the Chalukya dynasty Thus menaced on all sides, Mahāsenagupta found himself squeezed out of Magadha, which was practically lost. He then retired to Malwa, which was also one of the provinces of the Gupta empire, whose successors were the later *Guptas*

We do not know what immediately happened to Malwa after the exit of Yasodharman It is quite possible that the later Guptas might have succeeded in reimposing Gupta suzerainty there Their intimate relation with the imperial Guptas and the fact that their name also ended in 'gupta' may have helped them Mahasenagupta did not find peace in Malwa and was defeated by the Kalachuri king, who conquered Ujjain.[1] In such distress, Mahasenagupta sent his sons Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta to the court of his nephew, Prabhakaravardhana of Thāneśvara Mahāsenagupta might have *lost his life in fighting the* Kalachuris *Devagupta* was ruling after him. The latter killed Grahavarman, the Maukhari king. It was because Mahāsenagupta was the king of of Malwa at that time that Bana called Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of the king of Malwa To refer to Mahāsenagupta as king of Magadha would have been a cruel satire on him, an attitude which Bana, the court poet of Harsa, the relative and friend of Madhavagupta, was last to take. Moreover it was more fitting to address Mahāsenagupta as the Malavaraja which was a *recent aquisition, than to call him* Magadha raja when he had lost it to the Maukharis It is now generally accepted that the Maukharis, imperial seat was at Kanauj, yet it is interesting the note in some later inscriptions they are particularly remembered as sovereigns of Magadha

1 E. I IX pp 296 ff.

which was a recent conquest. Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta refers Varmans (Maukharis) as great on account of their supremacy over Magadha Bana also for the same reason might have referred to Mahāsenagupta as 'Malavarāja'.

Thus the same objection which is raised against the Magadha origin of the later Guptas can be put more strongly against the Malwa theory, because we have the incontrovertible evidence of the rise of Yasodharman's empire from its centre in Malwa If the later Guptas could not be in Magadha because imperial Guptas ruled there, they also could not be in Malwa. If the later Guptas could be placed in Malwa notwithstanding the rise of Yasodharman in that part of the country, then there cannot be any objection in placing them in Magadha as feudatories of the Gupta emperor

Dr Tripathi holds the view that Damodargupta was defeated and killed by Śarvavarman, the Maukhari, and the later Guptas were ousted from Magadha and Mahāsenagupta established himself in eastern Malwa in order to pursue his schemes of *regaining the lost possessions* [1] *But this does not explain Mahā*senagupta's victory over the bank of the Lauhitya, and also the clear testimony of the inscription that Damodaragupta had defeated the Maukhari king. Therefore our view that Mahasenagupta was defeated by Śarvavarman after the former's victory over Susthitavarman and retired to Malwa appears to be more plausible

It has been generally held by scholars[2] that Harsavardhana awarded his friend with the kingdom of Magadha after it came into his possession. If Madhavagupta's and his ancestors' possession originally lay in Malwa then it would have been more apt for Harsa to restore his friend on the throne of Malwa The fact that Harsa restored his friend on the throne of Magadha further confirms our thesis that Magadha was the ancestral home of the family of Mādhavagupta and was unfortunately

1 Mālaviya Com Vol pp 261 ff
2 Harsa p 53 56 J I H IV pp 17 ff

lost When Harṣa came in control of it and was free from any complication of any claim by any near descendant of Grahavarman, he (Harsa) *gave it back to his friend Mādhava-gupta* 'who was always desirous of the company of Harṣa'[1] This did not only suit his fidelity to a devoted friend but also was in full accord with the opinion of ancient law-givers and the practice of many past and future kings.

Thus our exhaustive discussion has shown that the theory of the Malwa origin of the later Guptas is an unnecessary supposition and full of serious contradictions. There is nothing known so far which can not be more reasonably explained and reconciled by holding that Magadha was the original seat of the power of the later Guptas from the time of Kṛiṣnagupta to Mahāsenagupta's early days. Up to the early years of Kumāra-gupta the later Guptas were subordinate officials or feudatories to the nominal emperors. From the time of Kumāragupta the dynasty became independent and imperial in Magadha and parts of Bengal. Fleet was thus intuitively correct in designating them as 'the later Guptas of Magadha'[2]; there is no *good ground to dub them as the 'later Guptas of Malwa'*.

1. JBBRAS XXIV, 1914-17. pp. 236 ff. C. I. I. III No. 42 pp 205 ff.
2. C.I.I. III, intro. p. 10.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER GUPTAS

The two comparatively fixed points in the chronology of the period under review are —firstly the contemporaneity of Īśanavarman, the 4th king of the imperial Maukhari dynasty, and Kumaragupta, the fourth king of the later Gupta dynasty, secondly the synchronism of Madhavagupta, the seventh king of the dynasty with Harṣavardhana, who rules from 606 646 A D Haraha inscription of Īśanavarman[1] is dated 554 A D Kumaragupta, therefore, may be placed between *Cir* 540 and 560 A D (A lower average of less than twenty years for those disturbed years may not be far from correct) Therefore Krisnagupta and Harivarman, founders of the later Gupta and the Maukhari dynasties respectively, may be assigned to the last years of the fifth and the early autumns of the sixth century A D

Kṛṣṇagupta

The later Gupta genealogy, as known to us, begins with Kṛṣṇagupta The only information that we get about him and his immediate successors is obtained from the Aphsad inscription[2] This is what it says, "Kṛṣṇagupta was a king of good descent whose arm played the part of a lion, in bruising the foreheads of the array of the rutting elephants of his haughty enemies and in being victorious by its power over countless foes." Who were the enemies whom Kṛṣṇagupta faced ? The question may be answered by a critical study of contemporary events

According to our scheme of chronology Kṛṣṇagupta may be placed in *cir* 490 505 A D This was the period when the Gupta empire in the last years of Budha Gupta, and certainly after his death, was in its bad days, and Narasimha

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff
2 C I I III: No 42 pp 203 ff

Gupta had to face Huna invasions under Toramana Th Huna leader had made himself master of Malwa, at leas Eastern Malwa[1] and he is also reported to have invaded th heart of the empire, Magadha and Bengal[2] We have alread seen[3] that he was instrumental in the rise of Vainya Gupta in the east, and Prakaṭaditya in Sarnath close to Magadha Narasimha Gupta Baladitya for some time at least had proved unequal to the task But it can be safely conceded that Magadha, the land of heroes and glorious empires, must have offered some resistance to the invader The fact that Narasimha Gupta soon after offered battle to Mihirakula may prove the suggestion that the Magadhas were not a people who would yield to foreign aggression easily It may not be therefore far from the truth that Kṛsnagupta won some distinction in resisting the Huna invasion The 'Haughty Enemies'[4] of the inscription therefore refer to the proud or arrogant Hūnas Kṛsnagupta's title 'nṛpa' does not show that he was necessarily an independent king It is an innocent title having a connotation not higher than that of a samanta or a manḍaleśwara, a feudatory or a high official[5] He was certainly a contemporary of Harivarman, the founder of the Maukhari line of Kanauj It appears to be quite natural that as the influence of the imperial Gupta family was sinking, new families--subordinate in origin, of course—led by capable persons came into importance[6] Harivarman and Kṛṣnagupta were two such influential leaders who ultimately became the founders of two imperial families It is quite plausible that both might have realised the common advantages of strengthening one another in the scramble for

1 C.I I III No 36 pp 158ff
2 I H I pp 64ff
3. C I I III pp 158ff
4 Mr Piers has hazarded a conjecture that the haughty enemies' were the Maukharis under Harivarman and the fight ended with a marriage alliance of Kṛṣṇagupta's daughter Harṣaguptā with Ādityavarman, son of *Harivarman* (*The Maukharis* pp 62-63) But we feel that there could be no case for conflict between the two in so early a period
5 Amarakośa VIII 2—'*Nṛpo nṛpomaṇḍaleśwarah*'
6 Numerous parallels are found in the later Mughal history after the death of Aurangzeb

th pire, which was counting its hours. They might have looked forward, at least for some time to come, to mutual advancement in the empire under the formal tutelage of the helpless emperor. This might explain the marriage of Harsaguptā with Ādityavarman, son of Harivarman.[1] This marriage alliance with the rising family of the Maukharis in the upper Gangetic valley must have added prestige and influence to Krisṇagupta in Magadha.

Śrī Harsagupta

King Krisnagupta was succeeded by his son Deva Śrī Harsagupta The only thing that is known about him is that he "was always displaying a glorious triumph, the written record as it were of terrible contests."[2] His period may be taken to be 505-525 A.D. It was in this period that Narasimha Gupta rebelled against Mihirakula. The struggle was protracted, and must have been decided after more than one contest.[3] It is more than possible that Harsagupta played the part of a loyal feudatory or a member of a gubernatorial family in the terrible fight against the Hūnas. These fights are described as 'terrible contests' in the inscription.

Jivitagupta I. Cir. 525-545 *A. D*

Jīvita Gupta appears to be more important than his father Harsagupta or even his grand-father Krisnagupta This fact is indirectly borne out by the space given to him and the description of his war like activities in the Aphsad inscription.[4] He is called 'ksitiśa-chūdāmani', a title which appears to have more connotation than 'nripā', or 'sāmantachūdāmani.[5]

1. C I I. III No 47 pp 221ff We know that Harṣagupta was the son of Kṛṣṇagupta Fleet has rightly pointed out that the Princess Harsaguptā was a sister of the later Gupta of the same name (CII. III. Intro pp 14) There are again many parallels in later Gupta History.

2 *Ibid* No 42ff 205 ff

3 Records Vol I pp 168-171.

4. C I I vol III. No 42 pp 205ff

5 The highest epithet of the members of the Gaya branch of the Maukharis was 'sāmanta-chūḍāmani', attributed to Śārdūlavarman, father of

Jivitagupta's period may be fixed as from 525 545 A D These were the days when events were moving at a terrific speed in Northern India, and the fortunes of many families were rising or ebbing In Malwa Yasodharman Visnuvardhana came into power His rise may not be as meteoric as generally supposed[1] He overran the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Mahendragiri, and from the Lauhitya to the western ocean[2] The Gupta emperor Kumāra Gupta III might have perished in the struggle Yaśodharman's digvijaya from his centre in Mandasore in western Malwa to the Lauhitya in the north east, and the Himālayas in the north must have resulted in his over-running of Magadha and northern and western Bengal His empire certainly superseded the empire of his Gupta over lords[3] The last known date of Yasodharman is 532 533 A D Though we do not know the actual circumstances in which he disappeared from the stage of History, there appears to be no doubt that soon after his exit his empire collapsed in or soon after 533 A D

But there is no doubt that the Gupta empire, which had already been reduced in extent and was suffering from the shocks of the recent Huna invasions, was shaken to its very foundations by Yaśodharman's aggression His rise was a symptom, rather than a cause, of the virtual collapse of the All Northern-India central authority represented by the Gupta empire Yaśodharman was probably a feudatory of the empire, and therefore mentions the Gupta over lords[4] whose

Anantavarman (C I I vol III No 48 p 223) May we suggest that Jivita gupta finally succeeded in bringing (or disposing of) this family under his control? Anantavarman is not addressed with any high epithets and his struggles against enemies in the time of his father may suggest his conflicts with another chieftain (Jivitagupta) Such conflicts between various feudatories or official families were very common in the later Mughal history The palaeography is not against us

1 B C Law Volume I p 25

2 C I I vol III No 33 pp 147 48

3 Fleet translated *Gupta nathāh* as 'over lords of the Guptas (*Ibid*) Dr Jayasval rightly corrected the translation as Gupta Over lords (I H I p 40)

4 C I I Vol III No 33 pp 147-48

authority he challenged, and he conquered almost the whole of Northern India, including territories which were never within the Gupta empire Therefore, he had a wonderful opportunity to save the country from the evils of fragmentation and create an all-India, at least an all Northern India central authority—the real remedy which India has needed many times in course of her chequered history during her transition from the break-up of one empire to the rise of another But Yaśodharman failed India It is really unfortunate that while Yaśodharman failed to establish a durable central authority which could outlive him, he by his example and by his aggression in the centre of the empire sapped the prestige of the empire and the emperor, and thereby encouraged all the more the centrifugal forces, which now had fuller play

After the exit of Yaśodharman, the Gupta emperor Visnu Gupta continued to exercise sovereignty over Magadha and northern Bengal This is clear from the fifth Damodarpur Plate[1] and the Nālandā seal of Viṣṇu Gupta [2] It appears to us that in this he must have been materially helped by his various feudatories, notably Jivitagupta I and Īśvaravarman [3] Jivitagupta's campaigns in the Himalayan regions and in south western Bengal[4] were probably made ostensibly in

1 E I XVII p 193, see *supra*

2 *Ibid*, XXVI pp 233ff

3 Īśvaravarman appears to have fought the aggressive design of a king of Dharā (Jaunpore inscription C I I III No 51 pp 229-30) It is obvious that Īśvaravarman might have fought Yaśodharman during the latter's campaign in Northern India Maharaja Īśvaravarman had married Upa Gupta, the sister of Viṣṇu Gupta We have identified Ukarakhya of the MMK with Viṣṇu Gupta, on whose coins we have the letter U Another *name of his might have been Upendra Gupta* (*Many Gupta emperors* like Chandra Gupta II and Skanda Gupta had more than one name) Upendra is a synonym of Visnu Therefore Visnu's sister could be Upa Gupta (a shorter form of Visnu Gupta) Dr Jayaswal had identified 'Ukarakhya with Budha Gupta an identification which cannot stand in view of recent addition to our knowledge (See *supra*) Dr Raychaudhuri also rejected the view of Jayaswal and suggested that he might be another Gupta prince Upa Gupta or Upendra Gupta He hazarded a suggestion that he might be Kṛṣṇa (Upendra) Gupta (PHAI 4th edn note 2 p 500) It is certainly significant that Īśvaravarman is described as a mere 'mahārāja' a feudatory title

4 C.I I Vol III, No 42, pp 205 ff.

the name of the emperor, though really they increased his own power and prestige. The enemy against whom he fought on the sea shore was Gopachandra or Dharmāditya [1] The enemies on the seashore have been rightly identified with the Gaudas living on the sea shore (cf the Harāha inscription) [2] Jivitagupta's authority in Gauda was practically unquestioned, and therefore the author of the MMK looked upon the later Guptas as the kings of Gauda [3]

Jivitagupta I undoubtedly raised the status of the family to a great height from a comparatively modest beginning This is why the scribe of Ādityasena remembers his exploits "as *superhuman deeds (which) are regarded with astonishment by* all mankind, like the leap of (the monkey Hanumant), son of Wind, from the side of (the mountain) Kośavardhana" [4] It was left to his son and successor Kumāragupta to capitalise the assets and start the family on an independent and imperial career

Kumāragupta 540-560 *A D.*

Kumaragupta, the son and successor of Jivitagupta I,[5] had not even a titulary suzerain to acknowledge The last known date

1 In December 506 A D Vainya Gupta was the ruler of eastern Bengal *(I H Q VI pp 45 ff) and his seal with the title of 'Maharajadhi* raja has been found at Nalanda (MASI No 66 p 66) Recently another inscription recording the grant of land during the third year of the reign of Maharajadhiraja Gopachandra has been found at the village Mallasarul in the Burdwan district of Bengal This king has been identified with the king of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur Plates (E I XXIII pp 155 ff) The Faridpur copper plate is dated in the 19th year of Maharajadhiraja Gopachandra (I A XXXIX pp 193 ff No C) Dr Majumdar has rightly shown that this Gopachandra must be earlier than Dharmaditya (HBR I p 52) whose copper plates have also been found at Faridpur and who was considered to be earlier than Gopachandra (I A XXXIX pp 193 ff) It appears to us that Gopachandra has made himself master of western Bengal soon after Vainya Gupta the quisling had disappeared from the scene and Gopachandra made himself master of Eastern Bengal also It is therefore very likely that Jivitagupta I recovered South—Western Bengal from Gopachandra or his successor Dharmaditya whose rule was henceforth confined to Eastern Bengal

2 E I XIV pp 110 ff

3 I H I pp 42 and 57

4 C I I III pp 205 ff

5 C I I Vol III pp 205ff

of the last Gupta emperor, as we have already seen, was 543-44 A.D. According to the Jain tradition the Gupta empire came to an end in 551 A.D. In our humble opinion the tradition appears to register a very near approch to truth.[1] From the number of the gold coins of Viṣnu Gupta Chandrāditya,[2] and the fact that the hoard appears to have been buried in his time, it looks as if he was the last ruler of the imperial Gupta dynasty, and, not only that his reign was pretty long but also that it probably ended violently or that he was succeeded by a different family. The Jaunpur inscription[3] shows the growing power of the Maukharis of Kanauj. The inscription is unfortunately very much damaged, and it is not clear whether the reference to the victories over the lord of the Āndhras and the Spark from Dhārā is in connection with Īśvaravarman or his son Īśānavarman. Dr. Sastri[4] believed that the victories refer to the Īśānavarman, who is reported to have defeated the Lord of the Āndhras, including others. But the consensus opinion of most scholars is that the achievements are to be credited to Īśvaravarman.[5] It is quite possible for Īśvaravarman to have come into conflict with Yaśodharman of Malwa, and after the latter'sdeath he might have had to face the aggression of the king Mādhavavarman I of the Visṇukundin family. However, Īśvaravarma's son Īśānavarman was certainly more ambitious than his father. The Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman dated (V) S. 611

1. Harivamsa Ch. 60 · "*Guptānāmcha śata dvyam ekatrimśa[illegible] vidusrudahritam*" I A. 1886 p 142 Bhand Com Vol p 195 A copper-plate grant found at Amauna in the Gaya district was issued by Kumārāmātya Nandana in the year 232 (G E ?) or 551-552 A D The non-mention of the name of the Gupta emperor and the name of the era may suggest that the Gupta empire and the dynasty were over Thus 551 A D may be taken to mark even the end of the nominal sovereignty of Visnu Gupta. the last of the dynasty of the Guptas

2. 18 coins in Allan's Catalogue of the *Coins of the Gupta dynasty* in the British Museum, pp 145-46 Two coins are in the Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol I p 120, Many are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and Tritzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Hunterian Collection, Glasgow

3 C I I Vol III, No 51 pp. [illegible]

(554 555 A D),[1] records that Suryavarman, the accomplished son of Īśanavarman, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of Śiva in (Vikrama) Samvat 611, when Īsanavarman, the lord of the earth, occupied the throne, "after conquering the Lord of the Āndhras, who had thousands threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śulikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gaudas living on the sea-shore *to remain within their proper realm* The Andhra king was probably Madhavavarman I of the Visnukundin dynasty[2] who "crossed the river Godavari with the desire to conquer the eastern region ' [3] About the identification of the Śulikas there has been an unending controversy According to some they were the Mulakas living on the N W part of the Āryavarta,[4] Heras[5] identified them with the Cholas, S K Sastri[6] made them to be neighbours of the Āndhras, Hirananda Sastri located them in the south east along with Kalinga, Vidarbha and Chedi [7] Dr Raychaudhuri identifies them with the Chalukyas [8] B C Majumdar[9] placed them on the sea coast near the modern dis*trict of Midnapur* Dr R C Majumdar *rightly observes that* the Śulikas cannot be identified with certainty [10] The reference to the Gaudas in the inscription deserves more attention Line 13 of the Haraha inscription reads, "*kritva ch ayatimochito sthala bhuvo Gaudān samudrasrayan,*" and has been translated as "after causing the Gaudas living on the sea shore to remain within their proper realm [11] Dr Basak[12] concluded from this that "Īśanavarman made the Gauda people take shelter towards the sea shore after causing their land territories to be deprived of

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff
2 P H A I 4th ed i on p 509
3 Dubreuil A H D p 93
4 T G Aravamuthan The Kaveri the Maukharis and the Sangam Age, p 98 Fleet J F I A XXII p 183
5 J A H R S Vol I pp 130 3
6 J A H R S II p 180
7 E I XIV pp 110ff
8 P H A I 4th Edn p 509
9 Orissa in the Making p 105
10 A History of Indian people Vol VI p 20
11 E I XIV pp 119ff
12 HNEI p 111

their future prospects ' But this does not appear to be correct From the verse in question it appears that Isanavarman defeated the aggressive policy of the Gaudas, deprived them of their maritime success, and pushed them further northwards towards the interior This brings out the contrast between the sea shore and the land mass It appears that the Gaudas were at that time living in south western Bengal, extending to the sea [1] It is significant that Jivitagupta also met his 'haughty foes' on the sea shore,[2] these have been identified with the Gaudas of the Haraha inscription It appears that Jivitagupta was the first to reckon with the new rising power It is plausible that Gopachandra, or more probably his successor Dharmaditya, might have tried to avenge the last defeat and to recover the lost dominion in western Bengal The Gaudas, living in between the dominions of the independent dynasty of East Bengal and that of Magadha, might have been encouraged by the rival dynasty in East Bengal against the kingdom of Magadha In such circumstances Kumaragupta must have been anxious to seek alliances against aggression of a rising power on his borders and which was also backed by the powerful independent dynasty of East Bengal Technically the Gupta Empire was being attacked, and therefore Kumaragupta had every reason to look to the feudatories of the empire for support, and who could be more reliable than the powerful house of the Maukharis, who were related to the family of the later Guptas and also most probably to the nominal emperor Visnu Gupta Chandraditya?[3] Iśanavarman was a nephew of the emperor and cousin of Kumaragupta The Maukharis were yet a subordinate family, and Isvaravarman, the father of Iśanavarman, was content with the subrodinate title

1 Varaha Mihira places Gauda in the Eastern division of India On the basis of the Haraha inscription Dr R C Majumdar thinks that the country could not be very far from the sea coast and he further says that the Gauda Visaya could not be far from the estuary of the Sarasvati

2 C I I Vol III No 42 pp 205ff

3 We have identified Upagupta, the mother of Iśanavarman with Visnu Gupta's sister (See *supra*)

of 'mahārāja'.[1] Īśānavarman's grand-father Ādityavarman had married Harsa-guptā, the sister of the later Gupta king Harsagupta, the grand-father of Kumāragupta All these factors might explain the invasion of Bengal by Īśānavarman. The latter might have come to the aid of Kumāragupta, *or, more accurately, of his over-lord Visnu Gupta.* The result was the defeat of the Gaudas.

But soon after this victory Kumāragupta and Īśānavarman came to clash.[2] The reason is not far to seek. The resounding victories over the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gaudas must have increased the power and prestige of Īśānavarman, who could henceforth legitimately entertain imperial ambitions Kumāragupta had similar aspirations and was waiting for the opportune time, when the imperial line was extinct, to transform his *de facto* authority into *de jure* as well The victory of Īśānavarman over the Gaudas *etc*, took place sometimes before 554 A D., the date of the Harāhā inscription.[3] Visnu Gupta might have died in *Cir.* 551-52 A. D. There being now no longer any formal fountain-head of authority or any common bond of over-lordship, however nominal it might have been, the two ambitious representatives of the two families were ready to cross swords for succession to the imperial titles and traditions.[4] It appears that Kumāragupta became aware of Īśānavarman's ambition, and the consequence was some scuffle in which he might have dragged the name and the person of the old emperor Visnu Gupta who might have perished in the conflagration. As a direct consequence of this Īśānavarman assumed the imperial title, 'Mahārājādhirāja'. It is certainly not without significance that Īśānavarman is the first Maukhari ruler who is given this

1 C I I Vol No 47 pp 221ff
2 C I I Vol III No. 42
3. E I XIV. pp 110ff I.A XLVI. pp 125 ff
4 Aravamuthan suggests that from the fact that Īśānavarman's wife was not a 'Gupta' princess like the wives of his two predecessors, it appears that there was no princess of the one line to marry the prince of the other and this lack of matrimonial alliance may be a 'sufficient explanation of the cessation of peaceful relation between, and also of the enmity passing into next generation' (Aravamuthan, *op cit* p 91)

imperial title[1] This was certainly assumed by him to assert the imperial status, so long enjoyed by the members of the imperial Gupta dynasty. It is certainly very possible that it was after the death of the Gupta emperor Visnu Gupta that Isanavarman assumed or rather usurped the imperial title It is probably more than accidental that on the coins of Iśānavarman the head of the king is turned to the left as opposed to the portraiture on the Gupta coins The same opposite trend we find on the coins of Toramāna. Toramāna's sovereignty was established in mid India at the cost of the imperial Gupta ruler Narasimha Gupta If the coins of the Hūna leader illustrate the fact that his authority was established as a result of his successful expeditions against the imperial Guptas, there appears to be hardly any room for doubt that the Maukhari coinage also largely substantiates the point that their imperial status was won against the Guptas[2] Whatsoever may be the detailed course of the events (which we cannot know at the present state of our knowledge), the outline of history could not have been very different from what we have drawn above Undoubtedly it was after the death of Visnu Gupta, and after his victory over the Gaudas that Iśānavarman proclaimed himself a 'Maharajadhirāja'[3] It may be that after the death of Visnu Gupta (his maternal uncle) Iśānavarman claimed his right to succeed to the legacy of the imperial Guptas, and this must have hastened the conflict with the later Guptas, who considered themselves the residuary legatees of the empire. The blood relationship with the imperial Gupta family might have been a factor in whetting the ambition of Iśānavarman[4] Kumaragupta, the representative of the later Gupta dynasty, which for generations had been increasing its

1 C I I Vol III No 47 p 221

2 C A S R XVI pp 81ff J R A S 1906 pp 849ff

3 It is certainly significant that even in the Haraha inscription Isānavarman is not given the epithet of Maharajadhiraja

4 Dr Raychaudhuri points to the part played by by the Gupta princesses in stimulating the imperial ambition (P H A I 4th Edn p 511) The Habsburg princesses played the same part in European history

hold on the central provinces of the empire, was anxiously waiting for the ripe fruit (the imperial prestige and title) to fall into his hands Naturally, therefore, the ambition of Iśanavarman appeared to be a real impediment in his way The result was a diplomatic revolution, and the families which were so long friendly and helpful, rather complementary to one another, now emreged as bitter rivals Their rivalry constitutes the main thread of the history of Northern India in the later half of the sixth century after Christ The first round of the struggle ended in the victory of Kumaragupta who "like Mandara churned that formidable milk ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Iśanavarman, a very moon among kings"[1] Dr R K. Mookerji[2] and following him, Mr N Ray,[3] think that Kumāragupta was worsted in this encounter But this view is absolutely against the spirit and the letter of the inscription The inscription under review clearly proves that Iśanavarman was decisively defeated and "this was not an empty boast, for the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over the Guptas"[4] This victory of Kumāragupta over Iśanavarman took place after 554 A D, the date of the Harahā inscription The battle is not even remotely alluded to in the inscription The fact that in the Aphsad inscription[5] Iśanavarman is referred to in glowing terms as the 'very moon among kings' and his army is highly praised, is an incontrovertible testimony to such power and prestige that Isanavarman and his army had already won in Northern India, and that even in the inscription of a rival dynasty it could not be ignored This certainly suggests that before this contest with Kumaragupta Isananavarman had won great renown Naturally, therefore, his victories referred to in the Haraha inscription must have preceded his engagement with Kumaragupta It is quite possible

1 C I I Vol III No 42 pp 205ff
2 Harṣa pp 54 55
3 C R Feb 1928 p 207
4 P H A I 4th Edn pp 511 12
5 C I I Vol III No 42 pp 205ff

that this smashing defeat of his army might have occurred much later in the reign of Īsanavarman[1]

After this victory in about 560 A D there was absolutely nothing in the way of Kumaragupta assuming independent and imperial status, and we may regard the later Gupta dynasty, from the time of Kumaragupta onwards, to be an imperial and sovereign dynasty owing allegiance to none and claiming the imperial Gupta territories and traditions as its own. It is true that in none of the extant inscriptions are Kumāragupta and his immediate successors given imperial titles like Paramabhattaraka or Mahārājādhiraja But this is no compelling evidence[2]

The result of Kumāragupta's victory over his contemporary Iśanavarman was far-reaching The latter's pretensions to the central Gangetic valley were dispelled, and there is enough reason to hold that instead Kumāragupta's authority was extended up the Gangā to Prayaga.[3] If Dr Jayaswal's identification of 'Kakara' of the MMK[4] with Kumāragupta of the later

1 Aravamuthan *op cit* p 90 Piers, *op cit* p 78

2 Kumara Gupta I is mentioned as mere 'maharaja' in the Mankuwar stone image inscription (C I I Vol III No *II* p 46)

3 C I I III Vol No 42 pp 203ff From the inscription it is clear that Kumaragupta came to Prayaga and burnt himself on the funeral pyre This appears to have been a form of religious sacrifice which was performed to be assured of eternal bliss in heaven and was a practice quite in vogue in the medieval period and many kings like Dhanga and Gangeyadeva ended their lives in the same manner (See K Chottopadhyaya s article in JUPHS Vol. X part I July 1937, pp 65ff) Ramapala died by plunging himself into the waters of the Ganga Śudraka of the Mrichchakaṭika embraced death by leaping into a sacrificial fire Chālukya king Ahavamalla committed religious suicide Therefore the fact of committing religious suicide by Kumaragupta does not lead to the conclusion arrived at by N Ray that he was defeated by Īsanavarman, otherwise there can scarcely be any reason of plunging himself into the funeral pyre just after the battle It was certainly the humiliation of defeat (Cal Rev XXVI 3rd series 19 8 pp 201ff) Chattopadhyaya has pointed out that religious suicide at Prayaga was considered specially virtuous Basak suggests that Kumaragupta advanced towards Allahabad from Magadha in order to meet the army of the Maukharis (H N E I p 123) Was it true that he defeated Īsanavarman in a crucial battle and decided to give up his life in token of respectful gratitude to his Gods ? Anayway it was nothing like 'a sad experience in those days It is certainly more than probable that as his funeral rites took place at Prayaga it was included in his dominion (P H A I 4th Edn p 512)

4 I H I p 72

Gupta dynasty is accepted, then it appears that the latter was an 'emperor of the three seas' He is further said to have possessed 'a large army and a great power' But it also makes him a great Buddhist king, and says that he died of cholera We have nothing to confirm it, while from the inscription[1] it appears that he committed religious suicide

Damodaragupta

Kumaragupta was succeeded by his son Dāmodaragupta It is stated in the Aphsad inscription that, "like Mandāra, (he) killed his enemies Breaking up the stepping array of the mighty elephants belonging to the Maukhari, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas (in order to trample them to death) he became unconscious (and expired in the fight), (and then waking again in heaven, and) making a choice among the women of the gods, saying (this one or that) belongs to me, he was revived by the pleasing touch of the water lilies that were their hands He, while he was a king, gave away in marriage a hundred daughters of virtuous Brahamanas, endowed with many ornaments and with youth (and) dowered with agrahāra grants" (²)

Who was 'the Maukhari', whom Dāmodaragupta fought? We know that his father Kumāragupta fought and defeated Iśanavarman It is quite possible that Iśanavarman might have made another attempt to recover his lost prestige after the death of Kumāragupta Cunningham[3] referred to a coin of Isānavarman in his possession dated 257 If it is dated in the Gupta era, then Iśānavarman would be ruling in 576 A D. But it is impossible to make any sense out of the coins of the Maukharis, which are dated in different ways and it is not certain as to what particular era or eras they refer to Then

1 C I I Vol III No 42 pp 205ff "He went to Prayaga and there honorably decorated with flowers plunged into fire (enkindled) with dry cow-dung cakes as if 'simply to bathe in water'

2 C I I III No 42 p 206

3 C A S R XVI p 81

the dates on the coins of different rulers appear to overlap. Great numismatists like Cunningham, Rapson, Burn, Fleet, Brown, and Dikshit have read the same coins differently and refer them to different eras Aravamuthan,[1] who has discussed the question very thoroughly, has come to the conclusion that "We have, thus, very little justification for building elaborate arguments on the basis of these readings They are so various, and so fanciful ...that little reliance can be placed on them " Dikshit,[2] quoted by Aravamuthan, suggests modification in dates of the coins and attributes them to the Gupta era, but it is difficult to accept his readings and also his theory in view of so great a divergence of opinion between great scholars The only way is to verify the dates on the coins in question But this is an impossible task today N G Majumdar[3] says, "The date marks on the coins of Śarvavarman have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at what particular date these coins were issued " Brown also would hesitate to accept any of the dates deciphered by Burn 'without further corroborative evidence,' and this is absolutely lacking Naturally, therefore, we have to brush aside the evidence of the coins in fixing even approximately the chronology of the Maukhari kings There is certainly no serious objection to regarding Īśanavarman as having fought Damodaragupta, but it is more natural to assume that, as Kumaragupta was the contemporary of Īśanavarman, Damodaragupta was contemporary of the son of Īśanavarman Then was he the same as Suryavarman, son of Īśanavarman, mentioned in the Haraha inscription ?[4] One Suryavarman, 'born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of their supremacy over Magadha'[5] is mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription It was hinted by Raychaudhuri that[6] that this Suryavarman may

1 Aravamuthan —The Kaveri the Maukhari and the Sangam Age pp 101—7
2 Aravamuthan *Op Cit* p 103 (table)
3 I A XLVI pp 125ff
4 E I XIV pp 110ff
5 E I XI pp 184ff
6 P H A I 4th Edn p 512, f n 1

be the same as Survavarman of the Harāhā inscription The only serious objection to this identification is that in the opinion of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the editor of the inscription, "the characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A D'[1] Palaeography is certainly not a very safe basis in fixing chronology Fleet had assigned the inscriptions of Pravarasena[2] to the 8th century A D, but the discovery of the fact that Devagupta, the father of Prabhavati Gupta, the mother of Pravarasena II, was no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya[3] of the imperial Gupta dynasty, proves that the inscriptions belong to the 5th rather than the 8th century A D However, the script of the Sirpur inscription, noted above, may belong to the 7th century A D The supremacy of the Varmans (Maukharis) over Magadha is known,[4] and there is a Suryavarman in the Maukhari dynasty. Therefore we feel confident that the two Sūryavarmans are identical, the question is whether Sūryavarman ruled or not He is not mentioned in the Asirgarh[5] or Nalandā seals[6] From these seals it appears that Īśanavarman was succeeded by his son Śarvavarman But it has been rightly pointed out that, 'this does not conclusively prove that he never came to the throne, for such lists are genealogical and not always dynastic[7] Saletore[8] thinks that Dāmodaragupta fought Sūryavarman, who was a mere prince, and so his name does not occur in the Gupta inscription But the absence of his name from the seals, coupled with the fact that while we have coins of Īśanavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman we have no coins of Suryavarman, certainly raises a strong presumption that he did not

1 E I XI pp 184ff
2 C I I III pp 235ff, 245ff
3 I A XLII p 166
4 C I I III No 46 p 218
5 CII III No 47 pp 221ff
6 E I XXI pp 73ff, *ibid*, XXIV pp 283ff
7 *Ibid*
8 Life in the Gupta age, p 53

come to the throne.[1] It is true that in the Sirpur stone inscription[2] he is addressed as 'Nṛipa'; but, as we have seen, this was an innocent title in those days. We have seen that Krisnagupta and his successors were called 'Nripa' but their status was subordinate. To us it appears that Sūryavarman was a yonger brother of Śarvavarman, who put the former in charge of his recent conquest of Magadha, and therefore, though Sūryavarman is referred to as 'Nṛipa', what is specially emphasised is the Varman dynasty famous for its supremacy in Magadha.[3] Therefore, it appears more likely that the Maukhari ruler whom Dāmodaragupta fought was Śarvavarman. In the Asīrgarh seal he is mentioned as the Maukhari,[4] and as 'Parameśwara' in the Deo-Baranārk inscription.[5] This is the view of the majority of scholars.[6]

The next question is, who was victorious in the engagement —Dāmodaragupta or the Maukhari king (Śarvavarman?). Scholars have expressed different opinions on the point. Tripathi[7] observes, "although the poet appears to make the conventional claim for his hero's victory, the result of the struggle

1 Piers E A—The Maukharis, pp 88 87

2. E I XI pp 184ff

3 E I XI pp 184 ff It was quite natural for Mahāśivagupta to feel proud of his close relationship with the Varmans (the Maukharis), who had so recently established their sovereignty over the famous country of Magadha It probably created a great impression in contemporary times, and so it was thought more apt to remember them for their supremacy over Magadha than for anything else Was it for the help or support that the Gupta family of Mahākosala obtained from their Maukhari (Varman) relatives that the latter are mentioned in the Sirpur inscription, as in the Allahabad Pillar inscription the Lichchhavis are mentioned?

4 C I I III No 47 pp 221ff It was considered that 'the Maukhari' was a specific honorific of Śarvavarman, as he is mentioned as such in Nalandā and Asirgarh seals, but the argument (see Aravamuthan's The Kāveri the Maukhari and the Sangam Age p 92) loses much force when we find that in the Nalanda seal of Avantivarman (E I. XXIV p 283,) the epithet 'Maukharih' is not attached to the name of Śarvavarman, but Avantivarman is mentioned as 'Avantivarma' but in the inscription of his son (*Ibid*) even he is not referred specifically as 'Maukharih'. Was it just attached to the name of the last member of the dynasty referred to in the seals?

5 C I I III No 46 p 218

6 Arvamuthan, *op cit* p 92.

7 TK. pp 44-45.

alleged defeat and death of his father retired to Malwa, then his victory over Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, cannot be easily explained. It appears that Śarvavarman soon after the death of his father decided to wipe off the disgrace of the defeat sustained by Īśānavarman, but the verdict was repeated and Śarvavarman was defeated by his later Gupta contemporary. The event may be dated 562-63 A. D.

Mahāsenagupta

Dāmodaragupta was succeeded by his son Mahāsenagupta.[1] He may have taken charge of affairs after the death of his father in the battle-field.[2] The repeated invasions of the Maukharis made it clear that his western frontier was very vulnerable. Naturally, therefore, he sought for allies, and found them in the rising kingdom of Thāneśvara, which touched the western frontier of the Maukhari kingdom of Kanauj. Mahāsenagupta, believing in the dictum of Kauṭilya that the neighbour of one's enemey is his friend, contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Vardhana ruling family of Thāneśvara. He married his sister Mahāsenaguptā to Ādityavardhana, son of Rājyavardhana I.[3] This event must have taken place before 565 A D.[4] This alliance was welcome to the Vardhana family, as marriages in the Gupta family had played some part in stimulating imperial ambitions of different families

1. C.I I III 42 pp 205ff
2. According to K Chattopadhya (D R Bhandarkar, Volume pp 180 82), Damodaragupta did not die in the battlefield but recovered and lived for some timo more He proposes an emendation 'sukha spṛis'ayā' in in place of 'sukha spars'ād' The interpretation is unwarranted, but even if it is accepted it does not make any vital change in our narrative It may only mean that the alliance with the Vardhana family could have been negotiated by Damodaragupta
3. C I I III No 52 pp 232ff E I I pp 73ff As Harṣaguptā was the sister of Harṣagupta, so Mahāsenaguptā was the sister of Mahasenagupta
4. The date of the of the birth of Harṣa has been calculated by Vaidya to be June 590 A D He was about two years younger than his brother Rājyavardhana II, so latter's birth may be put in 588 A D The marriage of his father could not have been later than 587 and his (father's) birth not later than 560, so the marriage of Ādityavardhana with Mahasenagupta could not be later than 565 A D

It many not be a *mere coincidence that the first member of* the Vardhana family who assumed imperial titles and appeared to entertain imperial pretensions was Prabhākaravardhana, son of Ādityavardhana and Mahāsenaguptā.[1] It is quite possible that the small kingdom of Thāneśvara was also feeling alarmed at the expansion of the powerful kingdom of the *Maukharis. Whatsoever might have been the* real-motives of the Vardhana family in grasping the extended hand of the later Gupta king, it may be safely assumed that it was advantageous to both. At any rate Mahāsenagupta gained positive advantages from this alliance. He felt reassured of his western frontier. He might have calculated that the consecutive failures in their aggressive designs against the kingdom of Magadha must have taught a lesson to the Maukharis at least for sometime. The Gupta-Vardhana alliance, he thought, should act as a deterrent on the Maukhari policy of aggression. Encouraged by these thoughts, Mahāsenagupta decided to face *another growing menace on the eastern frontier of his* kingdom. The Varmans of Kāmarūpa appear to have been rising in this period, and therefore the Gupta king marched against Susthitavarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, and so thoroughly defeated him that even fifty years later the scribe of the Aphsad inscrip*tion of Ādityasena, the grandson of* Mahāsenagupta, remarks, "his mighty fame_____is still sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya."[2] This victorious campaign proves that the whole of the Northern Bengal was under the suzerainty of the later Guptas.[3]

1. C.I.I. III No. 52 pp. 232ff.
2. C.I.I. III No 42 pp 205ff.
3. Barua (Early History of Kāmarūpa pp. 50-51) holds that after the lightning raid of Yasodharman and the consequent rapid dissolution of the imperial Gupta authority, the Varman rulers of Kāmarūpa extended their authority westward and reached the Kosi river in the Purnea district of Bihar, where Mahābhūtavarman, an ancestor of Bhāskaravarman, made grants of land in Chandrapuri vişaya bounded by the dried Kauśikā (E. I. XII. pp. 65ff *Ibid* XIX. pp. 115ff) which is identified with the Kosi river by Barua (I. C. pp. 139ff). If this identification is accepted, then it is clear that Mahābhūtavarman held Northern Bengal and a part of Northern *Bihar. But* J. C. Ghosh (I. H. Q. VI pp. 60ff, A Volume of

But Mahasenagupta soon fell on evil days From the Deo-Baranark inscription[1] it is clear that Śarvavarman succeeded in making himself master of at least a part of the kingdom of Magadha His successor Avantivarman is also referred to as 'parameswara' in the same inscription The seals of Śarvavarman his son Avantivarman and the latter's son 'Śuva' or 'Śucha' have been found in Nalanda[2] Thus it is clear that Mahasenagupta lost a large part of Magadha to his hereditary enemy, the Maukharis It is obvious that Śarvavarman, contrary to the calculations of Mahasenagupta, persisted in his efforts, and ultimately these were crowned with success It is also significant that the Mahakuta Pillar-inscription of Mangaleśa'[3] attributes to Kirttivarman victories over many in which are included kings of Anga, Vanga, and Magadha Kirttivarman came to the throne in Śaka 489 or 567 68 A D ,[4] and he must have ruled up to 597 A D , when his brother Mangaleśa succeeded him[5] If we accept the veracity of the inscription and hold that it contains some element of correct historical tradition, then it appears that Kirttivarman s rival in Magadha might have been Mahasenagupta We have

Eastern and Ind an stud es pp 85ff) has sought to establ sh that the lands donated by the N dhanpur Copper plate grants lay in Paragana Pancha khanda (where the plates were found) in Sylhet d str ct (Assam) N K Bhattasal (J A S B L (letters) Vol I pp 419ff) also agrees in ma n w th Ghosh in holing that the lands lay in Sylhat distr ct An objection *against the theory is that in a land grant of another Assam king Vanamala* Chandrapari west of the Trisrota is mentioned, and this Chandrapari is most probably the Chandrapuri v saya of the Nidhanpur plates and Panchakhanda is certainly not west of the Trisrota The only Kauśika west of the Trisrota is the river Kos of Northern B har P N Bhattacharya (E I XIX pp 11ff) bel eved that the local ty of the Nidhanpur copper plate grants must have been very near the precints of Karnasuvarna. He appears to meet the object ons of Ghosh and others and is convinced that the lands lay in Bengal (J A S B Letters III pp 45ff) The issue is not yet settled, but if Barua s suggestion is accepted it appears that Mahasenagupta destroyed Kamarupa rule in Northern B har and Bengal and successfully pursued the Varmans up to the Lauh tya which appears to have become the boundary line between the k ngdoms of the later Guptas and the Varmans of Kamarupa

1 C I I III No 46 pp 218 ff
2 E I XXI pp 73 ff *Ibid* XXIV pp 283 ff
3 I A XIX pp 7 ff
4 E H D p 85 D K D p 281
5 I A XIX pp 7 ff

already met the Gaudas on the sea-coast, and have seen that their aggressive designs had been frustrated by Īśānavarman. The troubles of Mahāsenagupta might have encouraged this restless people to be on offensive again. Jayanāga, who issued the Vappaghosavata grant from Karnasuvarna,[1] identified with Ranagamati on the west bank of Bhāgirathi, 6 or 7 miles south of *Behrampur in* the Murshidabad district of Bengal,[2] was most probably the king of the Gaudas There is nothing to stand in our way in believing the Gauda expansion in Central Bengal synchronise with the troubles of Mahāsenagupta Thus pressed on all sides by different powerful enemies, Mahāsenagupta felt himself obliged to leave his ancestral country—Magadha and retire to Malwa[3] It is not possible to fix the date of his retirement to Malwa Making due allowances for his wars with the Maukharis, the king of Kāmarūpa, the Chalukyas, and possibly the Gaudas, his retirement to Malwa may be placed in about *Cir* 582 A D, as he came to throne in abont 562 A D.

What was the Malwa of Mahāsenaguptas?

It has been generally assumed by scholars that 'Malwa' of Mahāsenagupta denoted Malwa, corresponding to the Bhilsā region Tripathi[4] observes, "It may not be unreasonable to suggest that Mahāsenagupta, son of Dāmodaragupta, retired to some part of Malwā which continued to acknowledge the

1 E I VIII pp 60 ff

2 J A S B LXII pp 315 ff

3 Sen (Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal, pp 243-66) suggests that after his defeat at the hands of the Maukharis, Mahāsenagupta retired to Gauḍa and there discovered his natural enemy in the Kāmarūpa kingdom After Mahāsenagupta's death Śaśānka swooped *down upon Puṇḍravardhana* and the two sons of Mahāsenagupta took refuge with the Gupta king of Malwa and were adopted as sons by him Prabhākaravardhana was trying to place one on the throne of Gauḍa and the other on that of Malwa and hence Śaśānka and Devagupta came to an alliance The whole thing appears to be an ingenious fiction The arguments are not at all convincing If Mādhavagupta of the Harṣacharita and Mādhavagupta of the Aphsad inscription are identical, as is believed by a vast majority of scholars including Sen himself, then Mahāsenagupta must be a king of Malwa, at least in the last part of his life

4 Th p 46

Gupta supremacy, even after the downfall of the imperial Gupta family. This was probably Eastern Mālwā corresponding to the Bhilsa district on the Vetravati, for we are told in the commentary of the Kāmasūtra of Vatsyāyana (Adhikarana III) that Ujjayini or Ujjain denoted Western Mālwā, and where Malwa is only mentioned it should be taken to mean Eastern Mālwa" Sircar D. C also relies on the testimony of the commentary of the Kamasutra and holds that the later Guptas hailed from Eastern Malwa [1] Raychaudhuri[2] remarks that "Mahāsenagupta is probably the king of Malwa (Malava), possibly Eastern Mālwā, mentioned in the Harsacharita, whose sons Kumāra Gupta and Madhava Gupta were appointed to wait upon Rajyavardhana and Harṣavardhana by their father Prabhākaravardhana of the Pusyabhūti family of Śrikantha (Thaneśwara)" Relying on a much later epigraphic evidence, he distinguishes between seven Mālavas and thinks that, though the precise location and extnent of the Mālava of the later Guptas cannot be determined, they probably held purva-Malava (round Bhilsa) and the districts round Prayāga, Kauśāmbi and Fatehpur, and some times held Magadha as well [3] In the learned opinion of Law,[4] "It is difficult to identify the Malava kingdom of Mahasenagupta and Devagupta, but it is more probably identical with Pūrva Malava, that lay between Prayaga and Bhilsā"

Except for the authority of the commentary on Kāmasūtra, belonging to a very late period, there is no other evidence that when Malwa is mentioned it should be taken to mean Eastern Malwa Raychaudhuri[5] says that the Bhāgavata Purana, whose date is probably not far removed from that of the later Guptas, distinguishes Avanti from Malwa and associates the latter with Arbuda (Abu) Certainly Abu cannot be taken to

1 J A S B L (Letters) XI (1945) pp 69 ff
2 P H A I (4th Edn) p 512
3 *Ibid* p 492 ft note 4
4 Ancient Indian Tribes Vol II p 41
5 P H A I (4th Edn) p 492 ft note 4

be in Eastern Malwa round Bhilsa Rajaśekhara is also said to have distinguished between rulers of Malwa and Avanti[1] But it has to be borne in mind that Rajasekhara is much later than Bana, and then it is not clear what territory was meant by Rajasekhara by the term Malava It might have meant Mo la po of Yuan Chwang

In arriving at a correct conclusion as to what properly constituted Malava in the time of Mahasenagupta and Harsavardhana, we should rely more on the testimoney of contemporary authorities than on those who are later It is certainly very unfortunate that Bana nowhere in the Harsacharita refers directly to the territorial boundary of Malava. But there can be no two opinions on the point that when Bana mentions Malava or the Lord of Malava or the sons of the Malava Lord, he means by the term Malava always the same geographical entity When Prabhakaravardhana is called 'an axe to the Malava glory,[2] or Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta are called the sons of the Malava king[3] or the murderer of Grahavarman is called 'the wicked Lord of Malava',[4] or when Rajyavardhana resolves 'to uproot the Malavas',[5] or 'to bring destruction on the family of the king of Malava,'[6] Bana always in all these different cases must have meant the same geographical or political entity An idea as to what Bana meant by 'Malava' can be gleaned through his Kadambari Of course, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that the term 'Malava' referred to in the Harsacharita is used to cover the same length of territory as in the Kadambari[7] In the later work Bana mentions Ujjain on the Sipra river, and he also refers to the women of Malwa (malavi), associated with Ujjain, in such a way that there is hardly any doubt that women of Ujjain were known as Ma-

1 *Ibid*
2 H C. (CT) p 101 H C Text (Parab) *Mala a lakṣmīlatā paraśu* p 120
3 *Ibid* p 119 text (*Ibid*) ' *Mālavarājaputrau* , p 138
4 *Ibid* p 173 *Ibid* (Parab) *durātmanā Mala arajena* p 182
5 H C. (text Parab) p 183
6 *Ibid* *Malavarajakulapralayāya* p 181
7 Kādambarī (Tr Ridding) pp 17, 59

lavis or women of Mālava, at least in the time of Bāna This makes it clear that Mālava of Bāna certainly included Ujjain It is certainly significant that Bāna mentions the beautiful women of Mālava (Mālavi) in the Harṣacharita, when Harṣa inspects the spoils of victory won by his brother from the king of Mālava [1] We have already seen that Mālavis (or women of Malava) are associated with Ujjain, and therefore it is quite reasonable to hold that the Mālavis of Harṣacharita also must have included women of Ujjain The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II[2] refers to the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras as feudatories It is certainly clear in the context of the known geographical situations of the Lāṭas (southern Gujerat) and of the Gurjaras (W Rajputana), that the Malava of the inscription msut have included territories adjacent to these and cannot be confined to Eastern Malwa round Vidiśā alone Almost the same order of enumeration occurs in the Harṣacharita itself. Prabhākaravardhana is described as a 'lion to the Hūna deer, a burning fever to the kings of the Indus land, a troubler to the sleep of the Gurjaras, a bilious plague to the furious elephant, the Lord of Gāndhāra a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of the Malava's glory" [3] The mention of Mālava together with the Laṭas, the Gurjaras, and the people of the Indus land certainly suggests that by Mālava Bāna did not mean only Eastern Mālava (Bhilsā) but a country which comprised the whole of Central Malwa and most of the present Western Malwa, including Ujjain of course The Malava of Bāna therefore extended from the river Chambal in the west to Eran in the east, from the Vindhyas in the south to the northern bend of the river Chambal in the north

Some have confused Mālava (Ujjain) with the Mo lā-po of of Yuan Chwang Hoernle[4] thought Mo-lā po and Malwa, including Ujjain, to be identical, and suggested that Śilāditya

1 H C Text (Parab) p 227
2 E I VI pp 1 ff
3 H C (Tr CT) p 101
4 J R A S 1903 pp 551 ff

of Mo la po was Yaśodharman's son Beal was so much obsessed with this theory that he mentions Siladitya as 'king of Ujjain[1] without any authority But the theory is clearly untenable, as shown by Smith[2] and Vaidya[3], and now generally accepted by scholars Śiladitya of Mo la po was uncle of Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena II, son in law of Harsa So it is impossible for him to be a nephew of Śiladitya who died in 580 A D, according to Hoernle It is certainly important to note that Yuan Chwang mentions Mo la po and Ujjain as two distinct kingdoms of equal territorial extent The description of Western India by the Chines pilgrim is very confused, and therefore it is not easy to define the boundaries or the exact political status of the various countries, like Baroach, Valabhi, Cutch, Saurastra, Mo la-po and others After discussing all possibilities, Smith came to the conclusion that Mo-la po was bounded on the north by the Gurjara kingdom of Bhinamal, on the north west by Vadnagar (Ānandapura), on the east by the kingdom of Avanti, on the west by Valabhi, and on the south by the mouth of the Mahi river, and he observed that it 'corresponds roughly to the modern districts of Kaira and Ahmadabad together with parts of the Baroda state and some adjoining territories '[4] But Grierson[5] and others criticise Smith on the ground that the latter has reduced the area of Mo la po as given by the pilgrim Yuan Chwang mentions countries which were subordinate to Mo-la po These are K'ie cha, 300 li or so north west from Mo la po, O nen to-pu lo (Ānandapura) 700 li or so north from Valabhi, and Su la cha, 500 li west from Valabhi K'ie cha has been identified with Cutch by Beal, Watters, Julien and Smith, the identification of Ānandapura with Vadnagara is fully certain[6] Su la cha is

1 *The Life* (Beal) p 148
2 E. H I 4th Edn. pp 341 4
3 H M H I (I) pp 44 47
4 E. H I 4th Edn pp 343 44
5 J R A S 1906 Pt I pp 95 ff
6 E H I 4th Edn pp 344 345 ft note 2

Śurāstra[1] It is quite possible that when Yuan Chwang described the boundary of Mo-lā-po he included therein the area of the vassal states as well It is certainly significant to bear in mind that, though the pilgrim mentions Mo lā po and its dependencies, he does not mention the king, as he does in the case of Ujjain, Valabhi and Baroach It appears that Mo-la-po with its dependencies was under the king of Valabhi Śiladitya, the king of Mo la po was uncle of Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena II of Valabhi Kharagraha I was a brother of Dharmāditya Śilāditya I, who has been identified with Śiladitya of Mo-lā po. The brothers are compared to Indra and Upendra, and this may indirectly refer to some dispute between the two brothers in which the younger, Kharagraha I, came out successful.[2] In the Bhadreniyalla grant of Śiladitya I sambat (Valabhi) 292 (611-612 A D)[3] the dūtaka is Kharagraha, though we know from the Alina Coppe-plate[4] that Śiladitya I had a son named Dherabhata, who is associated with regions about the Sahya and the Vindhya mountains It appears[5] that sometime in his reign Śiladitya I conceded to his brother Kharagraha I the control over Valabhi and for himself retained the rest of the kingdom, including Mo-la-po and its dependencies It was an extensive kingdom and ruled by an able and religious king Śiladitya, as is testified by Yuan Chwang on the records of the country,[6] and also by inscriptions which refer to his 'pursuit of wealth, happiness and riches illumined by conformity with religion' and they further state that "he acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked up path of the good behaviour of the kings of the Krita age"[7], so Yuan Chwang

1 *Ibid* Thomas Watters (On Yuan Chwang vol II) identifies Su la cha with Surat This cannot be accepted

2 E I XXI pp 116 ff (B s List No 1337, date wrongly read as 290)

3 *Ibid*

4 C I I III No 39 pp 171 ff

5 P H A I 4th Edn p 534 footnote 1

6 *The Life* p 148, On Yuan Chwang Vol II (Watters) p 242

7 C I I III No 39 p. 171

mentions the good Buddhist king and the country of his ru separately. But the kingdom soon came back to the ancie paternal state of Valabhi. Kharagraha I extended his dom nion further westward by occupying Ujjain as is known fro the Virdi grant.[1] In the time of the pilgrim, Mo-lā-po wi its dependencies was certainly under Dhruvasena II of Valabh son-in-law of Harṣa and nephew of Śilāditya I. Burgess[2] ha identified Mo-lā-po with Malwa proper, as he did not find an place in Gujarat that had a name even resembling Malw But it is very significant to note that in two grants of Dhruv sena II dated 320 and 322 (639-40,640-641 A.D.)[3], belonging the time when Yuan Chwang visited Mo-lā-po and Valabhi we find grants of land made to Brāhmaṇas in the 'Mālavak viṣaya' or 'bhukti'. These grants incontrovertibly prove th there was a Mālavaka province included in the kingdom Valabhi. This Mālavaka is certainly to be identified wit Mo-lā-po of Yuan Chwang. S. N. Majumdar Sastri observe that Mālavaka "was included in the territory of Valabhi, an as such this Mālavaka cannot be identified with Malwa. Th diminutive suffix 'ka' also indicates that it was then known 'lesser Mālava' to distinguish it from Malwa proper'.[5] This also the opinion of Law[6] who concludes "Mo-lā-po must no be identified with Mālavaka or Mālavakāhāra referred to i a number of Valabhi grants as included in the kingdom of th Maitrakas of Valabhi...That Mo-lā-po of Yuan Chwang canno be identified with Malwa (i.e Western Malwa) whose capit was Ujjain, is also proved by the fact that the pilgrim describ the former as being included within the territory of Valabhi. Vaidya rightly observes, "Bāṇa must be taken to use the wor Mālava in one sense only, although the Malwa or Mò-lā-po c

1. P. T. O. C. (VII) pp. 659 ff.
2. J. R. A. S. 1906 p. 220 ff.
3. E. I. VII. pp. 188 ff. (Nogawa grant of Dhruvasena II).
4. C. A. G. I. Appendix A. p. 647.
5. *Ibid* (edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri) p. 478.
6. Ancient Indian Tribes II. pp. 41-2.

Hiuen Tsang and the Mālava of Bana may be taken to be different"[1]

The preceding discussion makes it clear that Malava and Mo lā po were two different geographical and political entities Mo la po is certainly phonetically similar to Malwa Malava tribes who were originally settled in the Punjab had moved south and east and had their settlements in Rajputana, Central India, Uttara Pradesha and Lata[2] It is quite natural that a branch of these might have settled in north and eastern Gujrat, where Yuan Chwang found them and he therefore called the country Mo-la po, The fact that Śilāditya was a Buddhist king[3] might have further encouraged the pilgrim ro regard him as the ruler of Malwa, a country traditionally famous for its civilisation Naturally therefore, he mentioned the proper Mālava country by its capital Ujjain, the kingdom of Thānesvara was also called by the name of its capital[4] Vaidya rightly observes that "the kingdom of Ujjain was pre eminently Malwa and should have been so called".[5]

In our view, therefore, Malava of the Harsacharita and Kādambari must be identified with the kingdom of Ujjain as described by Yuan Chwang This was a fairly large king dom of 6,000 li in circuit, and probably extended to Eran in the east. The significance of the fact that the Chinese pilgrim mentions, after Ujjain, the country of Chi ki to, north-east of

1 H M H I vol I p 38
2 Ancient Indian Tribes voll II p 37
3 On Yuan Chwang Vol II (Watters) p 242
4 It is certainly not without significance that when Yuan Chwang visited Thanesvara it was neither a capital nor a separate kingdom The capital was Kanauj aad the paternal kingdom of Thanesvara was amalga ted with the larger kingdom of the Maukharis by Harsa But the pilgrim still mentione Thanesvara as a separate kingdom with the capital probably because it was a fact of very recent history But he does not mention its king who was certainly Harṣa mentioned in connection with Kanauj the capital of the empire The analogy may be very apt in the case of Mo la po He mentions it as a separate kingdom with its dependencies but does not mention the king This appears to show that resently Mo la po was an independent kingdom under a famous king, but at that time was under another ruler, who was Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena II of Valabhi, nephew of Śiladitya of Mo la po
5 H M H I. Vol I p 23

Ujjain[1] has been generally missed The country of Chi-ki-to has been identified with Jajhoti, *corresponding to Bundelkhand* region [2] Yuan Chwang says "From going north east from this country (Ujjain) 1,000 li we come to the kingdom of Chi ki-to".[3] It is clear from any map of Central India that the distance *from Ujjain to Bundelkhand* is *much greater than* 167 miles or 1, 000 li Therefore, it is more reasonable to hold that what the pilgrim meant was the distance between the the boundaries of the kingdoms From Eran the eastern limit *of* Mālava *to* Bundelkhand *is not far remo*ved *from* 167 miles Yuan Chwang does not mention any country between Ujjain and Chi ki to Thus it is clear that neither Bāna nor Yuan Chwang knows of any country as Eastern Malava distinct from Malava *or* Ujjain

So when the later Gupta king Mahasenagupta retired to Malava, he certainly came to Malava, whose capital was Ujjain Since the time of Chandra Gupta II Ujjain was one of the most famous cities of the Gupta empire, and might have even served as a temporary capital for some time It is true that we have not found any silver coins circulating in the western provinces of the empire after Skanda Gupta, nor have we any epigraphic evidence to establish or prove the continuance of the Gupta suzerainty in Malwa and Surasṭra during the days of the later imperial Guptas The Maitrakas of Valabhi had risen in power and were masters of the whole of Gujerat But Mandasore inscription of Kumara Gupta and and Bandhuvarman, dated 472 A D [4] shows the continuance of the Gupta rule in the western part of Malwa Budha Gupta is known to have issued silver coins[5] and his inscription is found at Eran in Eastern Malwa [6] Subsequently the Hūnas over ran Central India

1 *The Life* p 150, The Records (II) p 271 Watters (II) p 231
2 A G I (Cunningham ed ted by S N Majumdar Sastri) p 551
3 Watters (*On Yuan Chwang II p 251*) ident fied it with *Chittore* But Chittore is west of Ujjain and not north east, as the pilgrim states
4 C I I III No 18 pp 48 ff
5 CCGDBM p 153
6 C I I III No 19 p 90

and inscriptions of Toramana and Mihirakula have been found at Eran[1] and Gwalior[2] respectively. This makes it clear that large parts of Central India were snatched away from the Gupta empire But the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas[3] prove that the Gupta supremacy continued to be recognised in the eastern parts of Central India corresponding to the regions of Bundelkhand The Hunaś success ultimately reacted on the indigenous genious of India, and Yaśodharman arose in Mandāsore, broke the power of the Hunas in Central and Northern India, penetrated into the Uttara Pradesha, destroyed the power of Mihirakula, and overran the whole Gupta empire He reached the Lauhitya in the east and the Himalayas in the north.[4] But his empire was short lived and we know nothing of him after 532 533 A D The fiction of the Gupta suzerainty continued in Bundelkhand in 533 A D ,[5] and there is no reason to suspect that it might not have continued till the end of the Gupta dynasty in 551 A D The later Guptas as residuary legatees of the Gupta empire might have claimed their suzerainty over this region After Yaśodharman there was no barrier to the later Gupta maintaining a semblance of overlordship over Malava The Maitrakas, though absolutely independent of the empire, continued the fiction of the Gupta overlordship for a long time, and there is no reason at all to suspect any hostility between the Maitrakas and the Guptas Kumaragupta, son of Jivitagupta, had defeated Īśanavarman[6] who had also the ambition to control Central India

Thus there was no political or geographical barrier to Mahāsenagupta's retirement to Malwa, with Ujjain as the capital, after he found himself forced to give up Magadha Malwa was traditionally a Gupta province and Ujjain a Gupta city, and the legend of Gupta sovereignty might have even outlas-

1 *Ibid* No 36 pp 158 ff
2 *Ibid* No 37 pp 163 ff
3 *ibid* Nos 21 22, 23 25 , E I VII pp 284 ff , *ibid* XXI pp 125 ff
4 C I I III No 33 pp 177 78
5 *ibid* No 31 pp 138 ff
6 C I I III No 72 pp 210 ff

ted the end of the imperial dynasty Raychaudhuri[1] thinks that, as the Kalachuris were in possession of Ujjain and after them the Maitrakas held it, there was no place for Mahasena-gupta there But the view appears to be erroneous The Kalachuris came into possession of Ujjain in 595 A D [2] and were masters of Vidiśa in 608 9 A D [3] The Maitrakas occupied Ujjain not long before 616 17 A D [4] There can certainly be no contradiction involved at all in holding that Mahasena gupta ruled Malava with Ujjain as the capital from *cir* 582 95 A. D

Last days of Mahasenagupta

Mahasenagupta was not allowed peace in his new haven—Malwa From the Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragana dated the year 347 in the Kalacuhri era—(595 96 A D), we come to know that the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragana was in occupation of the victorious camp Ujjain [5] He has been rightly identified with Śankarana, son of Krisnarāja, of the Sankheda grant of Śantilla [6] It is significant to note that Śankaragana, the second member of the dynasty, in his Abhonā plates,[7] in the Sarasvani plates[8] and the Vadner plates[9] of his successor Buddharaja, is referred to by epithets which were traditionally peculiar to Samudra Gupta and the imperial Guptas in general Kielhorn[10] was the first to point out this similarity We may hazard an explanation that these epithets were assumed by Śaṅkaragana after his conquest of Ujjain, and this assumption, if accepted, would further strengthen our point that the imperial Gupta tradidions were still continuing in Malwa.

1 P H A I 4th Edn pp 534 535
2 E I IX pp 296ff
3 *ibid* XII pp 30 ff
4. P T O C (Seventh) pp 659 ff
5 E I IX pp 296 ff
6 *ibid* Vol II pp 21 ff
7 *ibid* IX pp 296 ff
8 *ibid* VI pp 294 ff
9 *ibid* XII pp 30 ff
10 *E I* VI pp 296 ff

The ruler of Malwa or Ujjain defeated by Śaṅkaragaṇa was certainly Mahāsenagupta.[1] It was this victory over a Gupta king in a stronghold of Gupta dominion that encouraged the Kalachuri king to assume epithets which were characteristic of the Guptas, specially of Samudra Gupta, the great conqueror This was a decisive victory, and the power of Mahāsenagupta was totally crushed.[2] The battle must have been waged immediately before the issuing of the grant in 595-96 A. D, as Śaṅkaragaṇa appears to have commemorated the victory by making land grants in Nasik district. Therefore the date of the battle may be 594 or 595 A D Śaṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son *Buddharaja*, who was defeated by the Chālukya king Mangaleśa From the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription we learn that Mangaleśa had "set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region", had conquered king Buddha", had "taken possession of all his (*Buddha's*) *substance" and had "an eager desire to set up a pillar* of victory on the bank of the Bhāgirathī, but he had to satisfy himself by setting up a pillar of victory of religion "[3] This victory over King Buddha happened before the fifth year of Mangaleśa's reign, as the inscription under review is dated in his fifth year Mangaleśa came to throne in 597 or 598 A D[4] and, therefore, the defeat of Buddha must have occurred before 602 or 603 A D. The Kalatsūri (*Buddharāja*), whose wealth was expended by Mangaleśa on the idol procession of the temple of his own god[5], was the same king Buddha, the son of

1 J B O R.S XIX pp 399 ff

2 Saletore (Life in the Gupta Age pp 60, 68) thinks that Mahāsenagupta was victorious over Śaṅkaragaṇa or at any rate the latter was *not* completely successful against the king of Malwa, because Buddharāja, the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, is found issuing a grant from the the victorious camp of Vidiśā in 608-9 A D The reasoning does not appear *to be convincing* In those uncertain years the interval between 595 and 608-9 is fairly long and it is possible that Buddharāja had to deal with another enemy However *the Abhonā Plates make it crystal clear that Ujjain was conquered* by Śaṅkaragaṇa before 598 A D It is certainly natural that the loss of his capital was symbolic of the total destruction of the power of Mahasenagupta, the Malwa king

3 I A XIX pp 7 ff

4 *Ibid* 5 *Ibid.*

Śañkaragana, and who was driven out by Mangaleśa according to the Nerur grant[1] Śañkaragana in his Abhonā plates is spoken of as belonging to the lineage of the Kalachuris and a son of Krisnaraja[2] Therefore it cannot be disputed that Krisnarāja, Śañkaragana and Buddharāja were Kalachuris as suggested by Cunningham long ago.[3] Thus, before 602 3 A D

1 I A VII pp 161 ff

2. E I IX pp 296 ff

3 C A S R IX It is important to note that the early Kalachuris appear to have had their home in Western India No inscriptions of Central India dated in the Kalachuri era go back earlier than 973 A D (E I XXI p 148) The inscriptions of the Uchchakalpa Mahārājas which Fleet (C I I III Introduction pp 8 10) and Bhandarkar (B s List of Inscriptions of Northern India E I XX p 159 foot note 5) thought to be dated in the Kalachuri era are really to be assigned to the Gupta era, as has been conclusively proved by Dikshit (E I XXI pp 125ff) (and Mirashi (E I XXIII pp 171 ff) , and thus the suggestion of Kielhorn (E I VIII Supplement) has been proved to be true All the inscriptions of the early Kalachuri rulers—Krișnarāja, Sankaragaṇa aad Buddharaja—are found in Gujarat and Maharaștra Krișnaraja of the coins (found at Devalane, (Nasik Dt) has been identified by Fleet with Kalachuri king Krisnaraja, father of Sankaragana (DKD pp 295 96) These coins resemble those of the Western Ksatrapas or the western issues of the Imperial Guptas Krisnarāja appears to have issued a large number of coins which are found in Malwa, Rajputana Bombay, Satara Nasik and C P and were in circulation in Nasik district so late as in 710 11 A D (E I XXV p 232) It is quite likely that Krisnarāja s successors continued to circulate the coins of their ancestor The discovery of a large hoard of the coins of Krisnaraja at Amraoti (JNSI III pp 25 ff) does not prove that the home of the early Kalachuris was in the Central Provinces A large number of coins of Kumara Gupta I were found id Surat, but that could not make Surat the home of the Imperial Guptas It is quite possible that after his conquest of Central India Śañkaragana might have circulated the coins of his father, who had issued them in a very large quantity His successors, who appear to be greater kings than he do not seem to have issued coins Both Śankaragana and Buddharaja might have continued Krisṇaraja s coins in circulation, which explains the presence of these coins in Central India and C P It appears that the home of the early Kalachuris was in Southern Gujarat or Maharastra, and from there they began to expand in different directions They appear to have advanced northward up to Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar) in the south their kingdom certainly extanded up to Nasik district in Bombay The coins of Krisnaraja were found at Satara Bombay and Nasik This southern push of the Kalachuris must have alarmed the Western Chalukyas whose capital was at Badami in Bijapur district in Bombay The decline of the Vakaṭakas also facilitated the Kalachuri expansion towards Central India and the coins of Krisnaraja are found at Amraoti and Betul This all round expansion in different directions naturally made many powers inimical to the Kalachuris The conquest of Ujjain by Sankaragaṇa was the crowning achievement of the Kalachuri policy of expansion Chalukya counter thrust was natural, and soon after we fiud the Maitrakas of Valabhi making themselves masters of northern Gujarat and even occupying Ujjain, presumably against the Kalachuris.

Mangaleśa defeated Buddharāja, the Kalachuri king That this was not a mere empty boast is indirectly proved by the mention of Mangalesa's seizure of the sovereignty of the Kalachuris in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, who had certainly no reason to give undue credit to his usurping uncle[1] The inscription describes Mangaleśa as taking "in marriage the damsel, the fortune of the Kalachuris", in the battlefield after having "scattered the gathering gloom—viz the array of elephants (of the adversary , with hundreds of bright rayed lamps, viz , the swords of his followers....and obtained the possession of the island of Revati ' So Buddharāja was defeated by Mangalesa in a fiercely contested battle It is not clear whether she battle took place in the Lāta country round about Nasik district where most of the donated lands of the Kalachuris lay, or near Ujjain, which was in the possession of Śaṅkaragana in 595 96 A D It is known from the Mahakuta inscription that Mangaleśa had 'an eager desire to set up a pillar victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi' [2] He certainly did not realise his ambition in 602 3 A D. if ever at all But it may be reasonably assumed that his war against the Kalachuris may have been a part of his plan to invade Northern India, on the other hand it is equally possible that his victory over the Kalachuri king encouraged him to aspire to reach the Ganga in the course of his victorious campaign That he did not realise his ambition is beside the point What we are suggesting is that his desire to set up a pillar of victory on the bank of the Ganga was in some way or other connected —either as a cause or as an effect—with his victory over the Kalachuris Ujjain, since ancient times, was one of the principle cities that lay on the main road between Uttarāpatha and Daksinapatha Therefore we believe that the Kalachuris, as a direct or indirect result of their defeat at the hands of the Chālukyas, lost Ujjain It is quite possible that Prabhakaravardhana, the king of Thānesvara and nephew of

1 E I VI pp 1 ff
2 I A XXX pp 7 ff.

Mahasenagupta[1] might have joined the Chālukyas against the Kalachuris, who might be identified with the Lātas of the Harsacharita, here Prabhakaravardhana is described as 'a looter to the lawlessness of the lātas'[2] He had ample reason to be such for he would naturally desire to avenge the defeat of his relative Mahāsenagupta and to restore to his cousins the country of Mālava, which was then under the Kalachuris as a result of the victory of Śaṅkaragana over Mahāsenagupta It is also equally possible to see in the above passage of the Harsacharita a reference to Prabhākaravardhana's help to Mahāsenagupta against the Kalachuri invader Śaṅkaragana in 594 or 595 A D, but in this case with no appreciable success as Mahasenagupta was defeated and probably killed

However, the misfortunes of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja at the hands of the Chālukyas offered a god-sent opportunity to Devagupta, who was a relative of Mahāsenagupta,[3] to declare himself king of Malava This destroved the chances of Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of Mahāsenagupta and cousins of Prabhākaravardhana The latter, therefore, waged a war against the king of Mālava, who was Devagupta not Buddharāja as supposed by Ganguli,[4] nor Śilāditya of Mo lā-po as believed by Hoernle Prabhakaravardhana, though

1 C I I III No 52 pp 232ff

2 Hoernle (JRAS 1904 pp) thought that Devagupta was a brother, or rather half brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta Vaidya (H M H I I pp 35 39) accepted this in the main It may or may not be a correct guess But it should be borne in mind that for Prabhakaravardhana, (who was sister's son of Mahasenagupta) Kumāragupta, Mādhava gupta and Devagupta, (if the last was a son of Mahasenagupta as suggested by Hoernle) must have been equally related and should have been equally treated Hoernle's theory fails to explain Prabhakaravardhana's war against Devagupta, his cousin and the latter's proposal to attack Thaneśvara after the death of his cousin Prabhakaravardhana It may be that Devagupta was a step brother of Mahasenagupta As there is no clear light on this point from any contemporary source, we cannot come to any definite conclusion At worst because of the name ending 'gupta' and the fact that the Guptas controlled Malwa in the very recent past, it may not be wide off the mark to assume that Devagupta was a scion of the Gupta dynasty, though his exact relationship with Mahasenagupta cannot be definitely known

3. See *Supra*

4 JBORS XIX pp 399 ff

he failed to gain the throne of Mālava for his cousins, succeeded in rescuing them, and appointed them as companions of his sons, Rājyavardhana and Harṣavardhana.[1] Bāṇa refers to Prabhākaravardhana's war against the Mālava king in clearly exaggerated terms. He is described as 'an axe to the creeper of Mālava's glory'.[2] This Mālava campaign may be dated in about 603 A.D., when, also, the two sons of the Mālava king were presented to Rājya and Harṣa, who were asked 'to show a consideration not enjoyed by the rest of our dependents.'[3] That the two sons of the Mālava king were very dear to Prabhākaravardhana is clear from his description of them 'as inseparable as the arms from my side'.[4] These kind references indirectly suggest the unfortunate state of these princes with whom their cousin sympathised Saletore[5] thinks that Mahāsenagupta had sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to the court of Prabhākaravardhana in 595 A D. But this does not appear to be correct. It is obvious that Prabhākaravardhana must have introduced the princes to his sons soon after their arrival in his country. But at the time of the presentation to Rājyavardhana Kumāragupta was eighteen years old.[6] It is obvious that Kumāragupta and Rājyavardhana must have been

1. H C (CT.) p 119.
2. *Ibid* p. 101, Text (Parab) p 120, *Māla a lakṣmi latā paraśu* Basak (HNEI, p. 142) distinguishes between Mādhavagupta, father of Ādityasena, and Madhavagupta, the son of the Malava king, who is identified with Devagupta. He holds that on one occasion Prabhakaravardhana defeated the Malava king and forced him (Devagupta) to lend the services of his two sons Kumaragupta and Mādhavagupta as companions of Rajya and Harṣa We are not convinced with this reasoning, and in line with many distinguished scholars we have accepted the identification of the two Mādhavaguptas on grounds adduced above If his two sons were hostages at the court of Prabhakaravardhana, it is difficult to understand Devagupta's attack on the Maukhari king and his idea to attack Thānesvara, which would involve real risks to the person of his sons Moreover, as we have seen, Kumaragupta was 18 years old when he was presented to Rājya, and certainly it was not so unimpressionable an age that he would forget the humiliation of his father and later even fight against him in the company of Rājyavardhana. In view of these difficulties we have rejected the suggestion of Basak.
3. H C. (CI.) p. 119.
4. *Ibid*
5. Life in the Gupta Age. p 63
6. H C. (CT) p 120, Text (Parab) p. 138.

of almost the same age to become companions. Rājyavardhana was two years elder to Harṣa, who was born in 590 A.D. Therefore Rājya in 595 A.D , would have been only seven years old, too young to be a fit companion of Kumāragupta, who was eighteen years old at the time of his presentation to Rājya. But in 603, which we have taken to be the date of Kumāragupta's arrival in Thāneśvara, Rājya would be certainly fifteen or teen, when a friend of eighteen years of age would be quite suitable for a prince.

Thus the first part of the history of the later Gupta dynasty came to an end in *Cir* 595 A.D ; though Devagupta might have continued for a few years more, his was not a legitimate period to be included in that of the ruling dynasty and he is omitted in the dynastic list given in the inscription of Ādityasena. The family since 603 A.D., remained in exile and dependence. But it would be idle to minimise the importance of the dynasty in the history of Magadha or India as a whole. The later Guptas may not have been the direct descendants of the imperial Guptas, but they certainly inherited the Gupta traditions, cultural and political. The family, from insignificant beginnings, made itself the predominant power in the country during the aftermath of the Hūṇa invasions and Yaśodharman's digvijaya. Its growth was gradual, slow but steady. From mere feudatories the descendants of Kṛisnagupta became the *de facto* authority acting in the name of the weak successors of the imperial dynasty. The bow of Ulysses could not be drawn by weaker hands, and therefore many ambitious families arose to fill the vacuum. The later Guptas ultimately succeeded in making themselves the real masters of the Central Gangetic valley, which was the heart of the Gupta empire. Their rise and growth may be compared to the history of the Peshwas. From mere subordinate officials of the Gupta emperors, they became the 'mayors of the palace', and finally emerged as the residuary legatees of the extinct empire. When the independence of Magadha was threatened by others, they successfully saved it for a long time. In a way their period of rule may be taken to

mark the continuance of the Gupta sovereignty and traditions. Their name-ending 'Gupta' was a strong point for them to conjure on the imagination of the masses. It is really unfortunate that at the very moment of their triumph they were overwhelmed by powerful enemies on all sides. With their withdrawal from Magadha, its independence disappeared for some time. Their refuge in Mālava was also cut short and the political
uling family was suspended till we come back
ıe grandson of Mahāsenagupta, in the middle
ry A.D.

CHAPTER VII

MAGADHA UNDER THE IMPERIAL MAUKHARIS

We have seen that the dynasty of Harivarman, established at Kanauj in the Upper Gangetic valley, contested the possession of Magadha and its imperial traditions with the Later Guptas Īśānavarman, the fourth Maukhari king, raided as far as the home land of the Gaudas in south-western Bengal[1] Kumāragupta, the fourth Later Gupta king, defeated him[2] Thus began the hostility between the two families which continued for successive generations Dāmodaragupta defeated the Maukhari again[3] We have identified 'the Maukhari' with Śarvavarman, the son of Īśānavarman It may not be without some significance that while the head of the king on the coins of Īśānavarman faces left, as opposed to the Gupta silver coins, the head on some of the coins of Śarvavarman faces right as on the silver coins of the Guptas[4] Burn has suggested that "the different arrangement of the head on the coins is connected with the relation between the Maukharis and the later Guptas"[5] If this is correct, then it appears that Śarvavarman might have been forced to accept some sort of subordination to the Later Guptas for some time But Śarvavarman was anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the defeats sustained by his father and himself, and he ultimately succeeded in defeating Mahāsenagupta, the Gupta king, and made himself master of Magadha This vindication of his successful defiance is reflected in his coinage. On the later issue of his coins we find the head of the king to the left as opposed to the Gupta coinage. The Maukhari rule over Magadha begins with Śarvavarman

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff
2 C I I III No 42 pp 203 ff
3 *Ibid*
4 Catalogue of the Coins of the Guptas, Maukharis etc, in the provincial Museum Luknow (1920) p 39
5 J R A S 1906 pp 843 ff

Śarvavarman was the first Maukhari king who annexed Magadha to the Maukhari dominion The Deo Baranārk inscription[1] clearly refers to his supremacy over at least the western part of Magadha he is referred to as 'paramesvara' in the inscription, and he renewed the grant to the temple His seal with imperial titles is found at Nalandā [2] The Varmans, whose sovereignty is alluded to in the Sirpur stone-inscription, were certainly the Maukharis Sūryavarman of the inscription is to be identified with prince Suryavarman, son of Īśānavarman of the Harahā inscription [3] It appears that Śarvavarman after the conquest of Magadha appointed his brother as a governor or a subordinate ruler of the newly conquered dominion The title 'nṛpa'[4] was an innocent one, and was used by subordinate rulers and feudatories like the early members of the later Gupta dynasty,[5] the Parivrājaka mahārājas,[6] the members of Yajñavarman's line etc [7] The palaeography of the Sirpur inscription is not so serious an objection, as the editor of the inscription thinks,[8] and recently many scholars have held that palaeographically the inscription may belong to the early part of the 7th century,[9] lastly palaeography is not a very sure basis to accept or reject any system of chronology, if established on other reliable grounds.

A seal of Śarvavarman has been found at Asirgarh[10] Fleet has pointed out that "a mere finding of his seal so far as Asirgarh does not prove that his rule extended so far south from his centre in mid India" The seal might have been

1 C I I III No 46 pp 213 ff D C Sircar (J A S B, Letters vol XI pp 69 ff) has shown that there is nothing like another village, Kisoravataka in the inscription and the village granted was certainly Deo Baranark, in the Shahabad district of Bihar

2 E I XXI pp 73 ff, ASIAR 1927 28 p 139.
3 E I XIV pp 110 ff
4 E I XI pp 184 ff
5 C I I III No 42 pp 205 ff
6 C I I III Nos 21 to 25
7 C. I I III Nos 48 49 pp 221 28
8 E I XI pp 184 ff
9 V V Mirashi E I XXII pp 15 ff
10 C I I III no 47 pp 219 ff

brought to the locality from a different place[1] Tripathi[2] has therefore concluded that Śarvavarman could not have ruled over the region But Aravamuthan[3] has pointed out that Īśvaravarman and Īśanavarman could fight the king of Dhara, the Āndhras, and the Śulikas, and therefore it is not impossible that the Maukharis pushed their sphere of influence just south of the Vindhyas, and Asirgarh may have been an 'outpost' of the Maukhari dominion It is difficult to be categorical on this point, but it is possible that the Maukharis might have established some influence in the Vindhyan region The fact that Rajyasasri, wife of Grahavarman, sought shelter in the Vindhyan region immediately after her release from the prison,[4] lends colour to the suspicion that the country might have owed some sort of fealty to the Maukhari throne. The fact that Suryavarman is mentioned in the inscription of his daughter's son Mahaśivagupta[5] certainly suggests that the Varmans of Magadha, i e the Maukharis, helped the kings of Mahakosala in some effective way, because the mention of the maternal relations in the inscriptions is generally consequent upon the help that the family received from the wife's or mother's family Mirashi may be right in his opinion that the Somavamśī kings of Mahakosala helped the Maukhari king against the Āndhras, whose king was at that time the Viṣnu kundin Madhavavarman I and the political alliance between the Maukhari and the *Somavamśī* houses *seems to have been* cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vasata (daughter of Suryavarman) and Harṣagupta, father of Mahaśivagupta-Balarjuna[6] The Maukhari prince Suryavarman might have helped Harṣagupta or his son against the Viṣnukundin king, who was probably the successor of Madhavavarman I, as the latter appears to have captured the capital of Tivaradeva, the grand-

1 *Ibid.*
2 T K. pp 53 54
3 Aravamuthan *op cit* pp 96-97
4 H C (CT) pp 224
5 E. I XI pp. 184 ff
6 E. I XXIII pp 113 ff

uncle of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna[1] A possible allusion to the Maukhari supremacy in Bundelkhand may be sought in the Baraha copper-plate of Bhojadeva dated Vikrama samvat 893[2] From this we come to know of a *Śāsana* of Parameśvara Śarvavarman granting some land in Udumbara visaya of Kalañjara-mandala We are tempted to identify the Śarvavarman of the inscription with the Maukhari king of the same name[3]

1 J A H R S VI p 20, E I XVII p 336, E I XXII pp 15 ff

2 E I XIX pp 15 ff

3 Hirananda Sastri (*Ibid*) takes this 'paramesvara Śarvavarmadeva' as a contemporary and feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II, and identifies him with Maharaja Śarvva of the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa I dated Śaka samvat 793 (E I XVII pp 235 ff) This Maharaja Śarvva was a small ruler of a kingdom whose capital was at the foot of the Vindhyas and on the bank of the Narbada, he was a feudatory of Govinda III, who, when he was turning to the west of the Narbada stayed in the petty kingdom of Śarva Bhandarkar (*Ibid*) has identified this Śarva with a prince named Mara Śarva who had his capital at Śribhavana where Govinda III, after receiving *the submission of the king of Malwa and marching to the Vindyas* (presumably on his way back to the Rastrakuṭa capital), spent the rainy season and received choicest heirlooms from Marā Śarva (E I VI p 250) We find it difficult to identify Maharaja Śarva or Mara Śarva with 'Parameśvara Śarvavarmmadeva' of the Baraha copper plate of Bhojadeva (E I XIX. pp 15 ff) Śarvavarmma has the imperial titles 'paramesvara' and 'deva, while Śarva is a mere 'maharaja and 'mandalesa,' a feudatory *Moreover while Śarva of the Sanjan plates or Maraśarva of* Radhanpur plates (E I VI p 250) is a feudatory ruler of a small territory at the foot of the Vindhyas and on the bank of the Narbada Paramesvara Śarvavarman made grants of land in the province (mandala) of Kalanjara which is far away from the Narbada and the foot of the Vindhyas The late Dr Sastri (E I XIX pp 15 ff) suggested that Śarvavarman might have extended his authority from the banks of the Narbada to Kalanjara in the north during *the defeat of Chakrayudha by Nagabhaṭa II and was forced to accept the su*premacy of Nagabhaṭa when the latter conquered Kanauj, when the Gurjara king was defeated by Govinda III Maharaja Śarva submitted to him and conciliated him with gifts of heirlooms This is not convincing as there was hardly any time for a small king Śarva ruling on the bank of the Narbada to extend his dominion as far as Kalanjara at the time of the defeat of Chakrayudha by Nagabhaṭa It is generally accepted that Nagabhata *came into possession of* Kanauj the imperial capital, *as a direct result of* his victory over Dharmapala and his protégé Chakrayudha who therefore sought the alliance of Govinda III Moreover there is a vital difference in name There is mandaleśa maharaja Śarvva' in the Sanjan plates (E I XVIII pp 235 ff) or Mara (*ibid* VI p 250) while in the Baraha inscription we have 'parameśvara Śarvavarmmadeva, In the Deo Baranārk inscription (C I I III pp 218 ff) Śarvavarman is called 'parameśvara The only *objection against this identification proposed by us is that the Vs 10 12 of* Barāha inscription (E I XIX p 15 ff) which run "(*parameśvara Śri*) *Śarvavarmmdeva Sasanam Maharaja Śri Nagabhata devanumatim ha dristvā bhagancha maha* (line 11)—*raja-Ś i Ramabhadradeva rajye vyavaharino vaigunyatkinchitkalam vihalam Jnaivama* (line 12) *ya pit o punyabhu ridhaye* have been taken to mean

In view of the points urged above it may be conceded that the Maukharis exercised suzerainty over some parts of Central India, *immediately south of the Yamunā* and even farther away. In the north, a copper plate inscription of the Mahā sāmanta and Maharaja Samudrasena has been found at Nirmand, "a village near the right bank of the Sutlaj, twenty miles north east of Plach, the chief town of the Plach or subdivision of the Kullu division of the Kangra District in the Punjab"[1] The purport of the inscription is that Mahasāmanta Mahārāja Śri Samudrasena made grants of agrahara lands for the maintenance of the temple of Kapilesvara, and the same grants had been made before by Maharaja Śarvavarman Aravamuthan has identified this Mahārāja Śarvavarman with the Maukhavi emperor Śarvavarman[2] The script of the inscription is not opposed to this theory, as "it belongs to the 7th century"[3] Śarvavarman, who has been identified with the Maukhari who fought Dāmodaragupta, appears to have fought the Hūnas[4] Bana mentions Prabhakaravardhana's hostility with the Hūnas[5] and during his last days he sent his

that Śarvavarman issued the grant after the approval (*anumati*) of Nāga bhaṭa II and therefore Śarvavarman was a feudatory and contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa We think that the verses in question may be interpreted in a different way The word 'anumati may have nothing to do with the phrase 'parameśvara Śarvvavarmma-deva śāsanam' The matter ends there Then after lapse of some time, Nāgabhaṭa II, who came in possession of this part of the country, appears to have been informed of this grant and and approved of this request But in spite of seeing (*drisṭva*) this approval (which practically means renewal) by Nagabhaṭa, the administrator in the reign of Rāmabhadra obstructed the execution There is nothing abnormal *in this* proposed state of affairs The grant made by *Bālād tya* was renewed by Parameśvara Śarvavarman more than fifty years afterwards (Deo-Baranārk inscription, C I I III pp 218 ff) The title Paramesvara and the absolute similarity of the name together with the fact that Śarvavarman appears to have been a generous patron of temples lend great *strength to our contention* that Śarvavarman of the Baraha *inscription* is to be identified with the Maukhari king of the same name Śarvavarman the Maukhari could easily extend his authority over the district round Kālañjara

1 C.I I III no 80 pp 286 ff
2 Aravamuthan, *op cit* p 92
3 C.I I III No 80 pp 286 ff
4 *Ibid* No 42 pp 205 ff
5 H C. CT p 101.

son Rājyavardhana to fight the Hūṇas.[1] So it is clear that in the latter part of the sixth and early seventh century the Hūnas. were still a political force to be reckoned with. Śarvavarman might have fought them in the Punjab region. Tripathi[2] believes that Śarvavarman could not have been master of the Kangra district of the eastern Punjab, which was certainly included in the kingdom of Thāneśvara, and there is no evidence that the Maukharis were ever on bad terms with the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara, rather from the Harsacharita we learn that the two families were on the best of terms. But it may be pointed out that the Vardhana dynasty came into all-India importance only with Prābhakaravardhana, who is the first Mahārājādhirāja in the family. In the very inscriptions in which he is called 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirājā'[3] his predecessors are called 'Mahārājas'. Bāna begins the history of the family with Prabhākaravardhana.[4] It would certainly not have been expedient for Bāṇa to refer to any case of previous hostility between the two families when his guru enjoyed the patronage of the Maukhari kings[5] and he was himself a court-poet of Harsavardhana, who was brother-in-law of the Maukhari king Grahavarman. Any allusion to previous hostility was certainly most inopportune at the time, when owing to activities of Dame Fortune the interests of the two families were inseparably linked. Therefore the silence of Bāṇa would not prove or disprove the point at issue. Bāna's statement, that "at the head of all royal houses stand the Maukharis worshipped like Śiva's footprint by all the world",[6] though does not mean that "Prabhākaravardhana worshipped the Maukharis",[7] certainly makes it clear that

1. Ibid p 132
2. T K. pp 54-55.
3 E I I pp 73 ff, Ibid, IV. pp. 208 ff; I.A., XX[illegible] pp. [illegible] ff; C. I. I. III pp. 232 ff
4. H C CT. p. 83-4, 101. He mentions only the legendary figure of Pusyabhūti
5 Kādambarī (Ridding) p. 1.
6 H C CT. p. 122.
7. J. B. O R. S. XIX pp. [illegible] ff.

in those days they were one of the most, if not the most, important families in Northern India. There appears to be no sound basis for asserting that "when the seventh century of the Christian era opened Prabhākaravardhana was undoubtedly the premier king of Northern India",[1] or that in 605 A D "he was by far the most powerful king in Hindustan"[2] The strain, in which Prabhakaravardhana spoke of the dynasty of the Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman[3], definitely shows that he was obviously proud of the prospect of his relationship with the Maukharis Therefore it is not impossible that the Vardhanas of Thānesvara, in their early days, enjoyed a status inferior to the Maukharis of Kanauj Śarvavarman in the course of his fight with the Hunas in the north west may have made his weight felt on the kingdom of Thanesvara,[4] and so he could have exercised control over the Kangra district A serious objection against the identification of Śarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription with the Maukhari king of the same name is that in the inscription under review Śarvavarman has been given a minor title of 'Maharaja' while Samudrasena and his predecessors have been called 'Mahāsamanta Mahāraja' Against this point it may be urged that even recognised emperors like Kumāra-Gupta I and Mahendrapāla have been called "Mahārāja"[5], in the Gunaigarh inscription of Vainya-Gupta both he and his official Vijayasena are mentioned as 'Mahārāja',[6] and it has been conclusively shown that Vainya-Gupta was an imperial ruler[7] Therefore we feel that the Śarvavarman of the Nirmand inscription may be the Maukhari king of the same name, though

1 H M H I 1 p 1
2 *Ibid* p 2
3 *H C CT* pp 122 23
4 Vaidya (H M H I I p 2, foot note 2) suggests that the Maukharis might have allied themselves with the Vardhanas of Thānesvara, against the Hūṇas as the kingdom of Thānesvara intervened between Kanauj and the country of the Hunas
5 C I I III pp 46 ff, I A XLV pp ff, E I XIV pp 182 ff
6 I H Q VI pp 45 ff
7 See *supra*

exact proof is lacking and there are difficulties in the way. The question is at any rate still open

Śarvavarman was a ruler of an extensive kingdom Even if we do not accept the testimony of the Nirmand inscription, his dominion certainly included Magadha in the east and touched the eastern boundary of Thaneśvara in the west From the foot of the Himālayas in the north it approached the Vindhyas in the south. The entire upper and central Gangetic valley with the rich Doab was co extensive with the Maukhari dominion Barnett[1] has observed that "the area which we may safely infer to have been under the dominion of the dynasty reduced itself to a triangle of which the apex is Ahichchhetra, and the base line drawn from Asirgarh on the Tapti to Nalandā and Aphsad in Magadha" There is no sure ground for making the Maukhari rule extend further east to include Gauda, as some have done [2] Īśānavarman's raid into Gauda was a mere punitive expedition and was not intended for the extension of the territorial boundary of his kingdom.[3] Even, whatsoever influence he might have won must have been lost after his defeat at the hands of Kumāragupta [4] We have no other evidence at all to connect the Maukharis with any part of the country east of Nālandā

Śarvavarman also issued coins [5] His reign must have been over by 586 A D

Avantivarman

There have been many speculations as to who was the immediate successor of Śarvavarman The Deo-Baranārk inscription mentions Avantivarman immediately after Śarvavarman as renewer of the grant to the Sun temple[6]. But the inscription only referred to those rulers who presided at differ-

1 B S O S IV pp 171 ff
2 JBORS XIX pp 399 ff, H M. H I Vol 1, p 1,
3 See *Supra*
4 C I I III No 72 pp 203 ff
5 J R A S 1906 pp 844 ff
6 C I. I III No 46 pp 213 ff

ent times and renewed the grant. It is not, nor is it intended to be, a dynastic or chronological account Bana mentions Avantivarman and his son Grahavarman , but he says nothing about the predecessors of Avantivarman [1] In view of such a meagre knowledge it was natural to speculate Susthitavarman, who was defeated by Mahasenagupta, was regarded as a Maukhari and placed between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman But the discovery of the Nidhanpur copper plates of Bhaskaravarman[3] and of his seals at Nalanda,[4] read together with the testimony of the Harsacharita[5], makes it clear that *Susthitavarman was not a Maukhari but a king of* Kamarūpa But the relationship between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman was still unknown. Some tried to place Ksatravarman, known only from the Harsacharita, between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman [7] Basak[8] remarked, ' we cannot ascertain the relation between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman'' But the Nalandā *seal of Avantivarman*[9] has definitely proved that he was the son of Śarvavarman Jagannath[10] has rightly shown that there is hardly any place for any one to come between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman Thus, it is clear that Avantivarman succeeded his father Śarvavarman on the throne of Kanauj in *cir* 586 A D.

Avantivarman appears to have inherited an extensive *dominion* The Deo Baranark *inscription*[11] *refers to him* as a 'parameśvara', and in his Nalanda seal he is given all customary imperial titles [12] Bana[13] speaks of the high status of the

1 H C CT p 122
2 C J I III Intro p 15 J I H IV p 20, Har ha , p 53
3 E I XII pp 65 ff, *ibid* XIX pp 115 ff
4 J B O R S VI *pp 151 ff*
5 H C CT pp 217
6 P T O C (Seventh) pp 569 ff
7 *H C CT p 194*
8 H N E I p 117
9 R I XXIV pp 283 ff
10 Woolner *Commemoration* Volume p 116
11 C I I III No 46 pp 213 ff
12 E I XXIV pp 283 ff
13 *H C CT* p 122

Maukhari kings in his days.[3] Prabhākaravardhana must have been contemporary with Avantivarman, as the latter's son married the daughter of the former. Avantivarman must have controlled Magadha, at least during the early part of his reign. We know very little of him. He issued coins as well.

The end of the Maukhari rule in Magadha

Ganguli[1] is of opinion that Avantivarman continued to rule over Magadha till his death, and was succeeded by Grahavarman, and Śaśanka was a feudatory of Avantivarman and Grahavarman. Aravamuthan[2] also believes that Grihavarman was the master of Kanauj as well as Pataliputra.[1] It may be true that Avantivarman continued to hold Magadha till his death. He is mentioned as Paramesvara and his seal is found at Nalanda.[3] The coins of Avantivarman, so far found, are greater in number than those of the other Maukhari kings.[4] All his coins have the head to the left, like the coins of Iśanavarman, showing independence of the Guptas.[5] Bana[6] calls him 'pride of the race'.

But it is important to bear in mind that there is nothing to connect Grahavarman with Magadha. He was murdered at Kanauj, which was the capital of the Maukhari kingdom. No coins of Grahavarman have so far been found; rather we have a seal of a son of Avantivarman, found at Nalandā, which shows that Avantivarman was not succeeded by Grahavarman, at least in Magadha.[7] The seal omits Grahavarman, and we learn that the son of 'Paramamaheśvara (Mahāra) jādhirāja Avantivarman Maukhari' was 'Para ( ) raja(dhi)raja Śri Suva or Sucha (Suchandravarman according to the editor).

1 I H Q XII pp 456 ff
2 Aravamuthan, *op cit* p 83
3 E I XXIV pp 283 ff
4 J R A S 1906 part II p 843
5 Catalogue of the coins of the Guptas, Maukharis etc in the Provincial Museum Lukhnow (1920) p 39 (1 4)
6 H C CT p 122
7 E I XXIV pp 283 ff

The Ārya-Mañjuśrī mūla-kalpa[1] mentioned Suvrata in the dynasty of the Maukharis Jayasval thinks him to be a nominal ruler From the Harsacharita we know that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman,[2] Therefore it is not easy to explain the Nālandā seal of Suva or Sucha with imperial titles From a critical study of the Harṣacharita it will be clear that Grahavarman was not only a prince but also the crowned king of Kanauj [3] Ghosh[4] suggests that Suva or Sucha, the second son of Avantivarman, came to the throne of the Maukhari kingdom as the rightful owner before Harsa occupied it in the name of his sister But the presence of his seal with imperial titles and that of his predecessors at Nālanda raises a strong presumption that Suva or Sucha was the imperial lord of Magadha, which included Nalandā The problem is made all the more complicated by the existence of the Rohtasgarh stone seal-matrix of Mahāsamanta Śasāñkadeva,[5] who has been rightly identified with Śaśāñka, the king of Karnasuvarna and of Gauda who killed Rājyavardhana The seal makes it clear that Śasañka was at first a feudatory or a governor of Magadha Ganguli[6] proposed that he was a feudatory under the Maukharis, and Majumdar[7] thought that he was in service under Mahāsenagupta But the subsequent history of Śaśāñka and a comparative study of his coins with those of Jaya[8] connect him with Jayanāga, who issued the Vappaghosavata grant from Karnasuvarna [9] That the rise of Śasāñka was in rapid stages, and not meteoric, is indirectly proved by Bāna [10]

We humbly suggest that there was some internal trouble within the Maukhari family either during the last days of

1 I H I pp 53 ff (commentary)
2 H C CT p 122
3 See *infra*
4 E I XXIV pp 283 ff
5 C I I III no 78 pp 283 ff
6 I H Q XII pp 456 ff
7 History of Bengal Vol I p 59
8 See *infra*
9 E I XVIII pp 60 ff
10 H C CT pp 168 275

Avantivarman or immediately after his death We have seen that Sūryavarman, a son of Īśanavarman was appointed to hold charge of the newly conquered dominion of Magadha by his brother Śarvavarman Sūryavarman's alliance with the So mavamśi ruling family of southern Kosala[1] may have contributed to augment his power and prestige Avantivarman appears to have disliked this, and appointed his younger son Suva or Sucha[2] as the viceroy of Magadha From the Mallar plates of Mahaśivagupta, we learn that Bhāskaravarman was the maternal uncle (mātula) of Mahaśivagupta, while we know from the Sirpur stone inscription of the same ruler[3] that "nṛipa Suryavarman, born in the family of Varmans famous for their sovereignty over Magadha", was his maternal grandfather. This Sūryavarman is the same person as Suryavarman son of Iśānavarman as known from the Harānā inscriptions[4] Therefore Bhaskaravarman was the son of Sūryavarman. It may not be without some significance that while Sūryavarman is called 'nṛipa' and allusion is made to his connection with Magadha, his son Bhāskaravarman is given no such title, neither is he connected with Magadha It should be clear, therefore, that he did not succeed to the high office of his father in Magadha It appears that Avantivarman, who followed Śarvavarman, overruled the claims of Bhaskaravarman, his cousin, and appointed his younger son Suva or Sucha to hold charge of Magadha Bhaskaravarman found shelter under his sister's son Mahāsivagupta His poor state may be gleaned from the fact that according to the Mallar plates "the gift was on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Aṣadha at the request of the king's maternal uncle, the illustrious Bhāskaravarman[5] Was Bhāskaravarman himself not in a position to issue land-grants for his as well as his parent's spiritual merits?

1 E. I XI pp 184 ff
2 *Ibid* XXIII pp 113 ff
3 *Ibid.* XI pp 184 ff
4 *Ibid* XIV pp 110 ff, see *supra*
5 E. I XXIII pp 133 ff

After the death of Avantivarman, *ca* 600 A D, while Grahavarman, his eldest son, succeeded to the imperial throne of Kanauj, Suva or Sucha declared himself to be the independent ruler of Magadha, where he was already acting as the governor, and he issued his Nālandā seal with imperial titles, mentioning his ancestors but omitting his brother Grahavarman, against whom he had revolted, as the successors of Puru Gupta do not mention the name of Skanda Gupta in their seals

These internal dissensions proved fatal to the Maukhari rule over Magadha The Maukharis were a foreign dynasty for Magadha, and internal troubles are naturally least conducive for any imperial power to continue to hold sway over a subject province The troubles of the Maukharis proved to be the opportunities for the Gaudas They had already made themselves masters of Central Bengal under Jayanāga They now were emboldened to extend further west The Gauda Maukhari hostility had begun in the time of Īśānavarman[1], and therefore, the unfortunate discord in the imperial Maukhari family gave a welcome opportunity to the Gaudas The Gaudas in the time of Jayanaga, and under the leadership of Śaśāñka, conquered Magadha up to the river Son in the west and Rohtasgarh became his centre The Maukharis were thus driven out of Magadha, and their rule was confined to the United Provinces west of the Son The Gaudas thus replaced the Maukharis in Magadha, and Suva or Sucha must have been a victim of their expansion The event could not have been far off from 600 A D It was during this period of his subordinate status in relation to the Gauda king Jayanāga that Śaśanka issued the seal[2].

Grahavarman

Grahavarman, who succeeded Avantivarman on the Maukhari throne at Kanauj, continued to rule west of the river Son He is only known from the Harsacharita, from which we learn

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff
2 C I I III No 78 pp, 283 ff

that he was the eldest son of Avantivarman[1]. He married Rājyaśrī, daughter of Prabhākaravardhana, and was killed by the king of Mālava. Prabhākaravardhana proposed the marriage of Rājyaśrī with Grahavarman to his wife in the following words, "In general too, though, the bridegroom may have other merits, the wise especially incline towards good family. Now at the head of all royal houses stand the Maukharis, worshipped like Śiva's footprint by all the world. Of that race the pride is Avantivarman's eldest son, Grahavarman by name, who lacks not his father's virtues, a prince like the Lord of Planets descended upon earth, and seeks our daughter. Upon him, if your Majesty's thoughts are likewise favourable, I propose to bestow her."[2] It is not clear from this whether Avantivarman was dead or alive at this time. Reference to Grahavarman's virtues as that of his father may suggest a posthumous allusion to Avantivarman The facts, that Grahavarman himself proposed the marriage, and Bāna, though he describes the marriage at great length[3], does not even indirectly refer to his father, suggest that Avantivarman was dead. When the betel-bearer from the bridegroom's palace arrives at the court of Prabhākaravardhana, the latter enquires of the health of Grahavarman alone, and not of his father.[4] This further confirms our suspicion that Avantivarman was dead, otherwise Prabhākaravardhana must have enquired of the former's health. When the bridegroom's party arrives at Thāneśvara, Prabhākaravardhana receives Grahavarman,[5] and there is no mention of his father. Gāmbhīra, a wise Brahmin who was attached to the king, said to Grahavarman (at the bridegroom's halting place), "My son, by obtaining you Rājyaśrī has at length united two brilliant houses of Pushpabhūti (Puṣyabhūti ?) and Mukhara"[6] Grahavarman had himself sought the hand of

1. H. C CT. p 122.
2 *Ibid*
3 *Ibid* pp 122-28.
4. H. C. Text (parab) p 144.
5. *Ibid.*
6. H. C. CT. p. 128.

Rājyaśrī.[1] It is important to bear in mind that Bana says that *many kings (rajanah) sent envoys to the court of Prabhakara-*vardhana seeking the hand of Rajyaśri, subsequently Prabhā karavardhana informed his queen Yaśomati that Grahavarman was one of the applicants[2] This makes it clear that Grahavar-man was one of the kings who made this request In the Harṣacharita Bana used the epithets 'deva' in reference to kings like Prabhakaravardhana, Rajya and Harsa, whenever they are addressed in the narrative Samvadaka, who came to inform Rajya about the death of Grahavarman, addresses Rajya as 'deva', and the deceased is also referred to as 'deva'[3] All these points taken collectively lead to the conclusion that Grahavar *man was already king when he proposed to marry* Rājyasri, and was murdered by the king of Malava The fact was so well known at that time that Bana did not specifically mention it in his story. The success of the Gaudas in Magadha against the Maukharis may have induced Grahavarman to seek a firm alliance with the rising and powerful ruling dynasty of Thaneś-vara Prabhakaravardhana also eagerly welcomed the offer of this alliance with the famous imperial family, especially when he had fallen out with Devagupta, who had usurped the later Guptas' throne It is equally possible that Devagupta of Malava and the Gauda king had already come to some alli-ance against their enemies the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara and the Maukharis of Kanauj respectively. However, the marriage of Rajyaśri and Grahavarman may have taken place in about 604 A D[4]

But soon after the happy event, the two families were en-gulfed in deepest gloom Prabhākaravardhana sent Rājya-

1 *Ibid* p 122
2 H C Text (parab) pp 140-41
3 *Ibid* p 182
4 Rājyaśrī was born about two years later than Harṣa, whose birth occurred in June 590 A.D So Rājyaśrī was born in *cir* 592 A D The normal age of puberty among girls in India is about 14th year Bāṇa refers to Rājyaśrī's attaining maturity in a comparatively short age but it shall be admitted that she could not be a mature girl before twelve and, therefore, 604 A D is the earliest year when she could be married

vardhana "whose age now fitted him to wear armour"[1] (i e. about eighteen years), to the north to attack the Hūnas Harsa followed him for some distance and then engaged himself in pursuit of youthful adventure in the Himālayan region He must have been about sixteen years of age. While thus busy in hunting expedition, a messenger informed him that his father was seriously ill, and Harsa turned back Prabhākaravardhana died, Yaśomati burnt herself on the funeral pyre, and Harsa was bewildered [2] Rājyavardhana was away, and consequently the kingdom of Thāneśvara was in a sorry plight. Rājyavardhana came back tired and wounded [3] He wanted to abdicate in favour of Harsa, but was finally prevailed upon to give up his resolve to go to a hermitage [4] Bana does not specifically mention the formal coronation of Rājyavardhana, but this silence need not be taken to mean that Rājyavardhana *did not ascend the throne. In the inscriptions he is* invariably given imperial titles like his father or brother [5] In the Harsacharita he is referred to as 'deva' The fact that Rājyavardhana did succeed to the throne after the death of Prabhākaravardhana is clearly stated by Yuan Chwang, who says "*When the latter (Prabhākaravardhana) died, he* was succeeded on the throne by his elder son Rājyavardhana' [6] He was hardly settled when Samvādaka, a distinguished servant of Rajyaśri, arrived at Thāneśvara and informed Rājyavardhana that "His Majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālava cut off from the living, along with his noble deeds, Rajyaśri has been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters and cast into prison at Kānyakubja There is moreover a report that the villain proposes to invade and seize this country as well".[7] This event may have taken place in the early part of 606 A D.

1. H C CT pp 132 58.
2 *Ibid*, p 165
3 H C. (CT) pp 165-66
4 *Ibid* pp 170-71
5 C I I III pp 232 ff, E I I pp 73 ff, *ibid* IV, pp 290 ff
6 On Yuan Chwang, (Watters) I p 343.
7. H C p 173

The wicked lord of Mālava, who killed Grahavarman, was certainly not Śiladitya of Mo la-po as suggested by Hoernle[1] and agreeded to by Mookerji But it has been conclusively *shown that Śiladitya was not a king of Malava but of Mo la-po, which was different from Malava proper, moreover Śiladitya* of Yuan Chwang has been identified with Śiladitya Dharmaditya of Valabhi If Śiladitya had been the murderer of Grahavarman, he should have been mentioned in the inscriptions of Harsa[2], in the list of those whom Rajyavardhana fought Similarly untenable is the supposition of *Ganguli*[3] that it was Buddharaja, the Kalachuri king, who killed Grahavarman and occupied Kanauj The basis of this theory appears to be the fact that in 595 A D Śankaragana was master of Ujjain[4], and in 609 A D [5] his son Buddharaja issued a grant from Vidiśa in East Malwa But a serious objection against *his theory is that Buddharāja is not mentioned in the inscriptions* in the list of the enemies punished by Rajyavardhana, this would be really surprising if he was the arch-villain as Ganguli would lead us to think It is really strange that while the name of Buddharāja is not mentioned, Devagupta is mentioned, whom Ganguli takes to be an accomplice of Buddharaja, whereas Hoernle and Mookerji make him the accomplice of Śilāditya There is absolutely no proof that Malwa remained in possession of the Kalachuris continuously from 595 to 609 A D The last years of the sixth and the early part of the seventh centuries were very extraordinary in the history of Malwa The Kalachuris, the Chālukvas and the Maitrakas were competing with one another to control Central India, especially Malwa, which was rich and was strategically important for states south of the Vindhyas, ambitious to extend their power into the northern plains It also lay, from very early times, on the high road of commerce between east and west, north

1 J R A S 1903 pp 554 ff
2 C I I III pp 232 ff, E I I pp 73 ff, *ibid* IV pp 209 ff
3 J B O R S XIX pp 399 ff
4 E I IX pp 296 ff
5 *Ibid* XII pp 30 ff

and south Kirttivarman, the Chalukya king, had defeated kings of Anga, Vanga and Magadha[1] The Kalachuri king Śankaragana, as we have seen, defeated Mahasenagupta, then king of Malwa, and conquered Ujjain But before 602 A D Mangalesa defeated the Kalachuri Buddharaja and deprived him of all his wealth[2] This Buddharaja has been rightly identified with Buddharaja, son of Śankaragana[3] It is true that Buddharaja was not crushed for ever, and in 609 A D we find him issuing an inscription from Vidiśa granting lands in Nasik district[4] But there is no evidence to believe that Buddharaja remained in possession of Malwa during the period 602 9 A D It is quite possible that as a result of this damaging and serious defeat, Buddharaja lost the new conquests of Malwa This conflict between the Chalukyas and the Kalachuris might have given an opportunity to Devagupta, a member of the Gupta dynasty. His usurpation of the throne deprived Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of Mahasenagupta, of their prospects[5] Prabhakaravardhana made war on the king of Malwa,[6] and therefore it was quite reasonable that Devagupta should make war on the Maukharis, relatives of Prabhakaravardhana This feud with the Guptas might have induced Prabhakaravardhana to welcome the offer of alliance by the Maukhari king Grahavarman. This explains why Devagupta is always spoken of in abusive terms by Bana and the scribes of the inscriptions Devegupta carried on the traditional hostility between the two families—the Maukharis and the Guptas The rupture between the Guptas and the Vardhanas encouraged Grahavarman to seek alliance with the Vardhanas, presumably against the Gauda menace. The marriage alliance between the two powerful families alarmed Devagupta, who concluded an alliance with the Gauda king

1 I A XIX pp 7 ff.
2 *Ibid*
3 *Ibid* VII pp 161 ff.
4 E I XII pp 30 ff
5 See *supra*
6 H C CT p 101

As soon as Prabhākaravardhana died, Devagupta decided to act. He attacked Grahavarman and killed him. This event may have happened in *cir.* 606 A. D.; thus the imperial Maukhari dynasty came to an end.

As soon as Rājyavardhana heard the sad story of the murder of Grahavarman and the imprisonment of his sister by the king of Malwa, he decided "to lay the royal house of Malwa in ruins".[1] Leaving Harṣa in charge of the kingdom of Thāneśvara, he started with Bhandi and "ten thousand horses". But misfortune awaited him, and Harṣa learnt that his brother, "though he had routed the Mālava army with ridiculous ease, had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda, and thus weaponless, confiding and alone, was dispatched in his own quarters".[2] The king of Gauḍa has been identified with Śaśāṅka.

Thus ended a crowded chapter in the history of India including Magadha. On the ruins of the Imperial Gupta dynasty the Maukharis and the later Guptas had emerged as rivals for imperial honour and encountered diverse vicissitudes. But by 606 A. D. the main lines of both the families were laid low. Magadha definitely lost her imperial status. The history of India for the next half-century was moulded by three great personalities—Harṣavardhana, Śaśāṅka, and Pulakesin II. Magadha was content to be low for some time.

1. H. C. pp 174-5.
2. *Ibid* p. 178.

CHAPTER VIII

Magadha under the Gaudas.

The Maukharis, after defeating the Guptas, had made themselves masters of Magadha, and their dominion extended from the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Thāneśvara in the west to Nalandā in the east. But a new power was rising in Bengal The Gaudas under Jayanaga and Śaśānka emerged as powerful rivals for the imperial honour of Northern India Ultimately the Maukharis appear to have lost to the Gaudas the country of Magadha Śaśanka raided as far as Kanauj and killed Rājyavardhana This resulted in the aggressive campaign by Harsa in the east, who made himself the sovereign of Magadha Either during the last years of his reign or immediately after his death, Madhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, became king of Magadha, and thus the later Gupta dynasty was restored after half a century dwelling in the wilderness

The Gaudas and Jayanāga

The first clear epigraphic mention of the Gaudas is made in the Harāha inscription of Īśanavarman, wherein it is stated that Īsānavarman 'caused the Gaudas living on the sea shore in future to remain within their proper realm'[1] It is clear from this that the Gaudas lived on the sea-shore they had started an offensive but were worsted by Īśanavarman, who forced th m, for the future, to remain within their proper realm According to H C Raychaudhuri,[2] 'their proper realm' was western Bengal, as it bordered on the sea and included Karnasuvarna and Radhapuri' The Aphsad inscription mentions the victory of Jivitagupta I over 'the haughty enemies even when they stood on the sea shore'[3] These

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff
2 P H A I (4th edition) p 508
3 C I I III No 42 pp 203 ff

'haughty foes' were most probably the Gaudas. In view of this it may be inferred with a degree of certainty that the Gaudas in their early days lived in south-western Bengal, bordering on the sea, though it is not certain whether in those days they controlled Karnasuvarna and Rādhapuri From the Mallasārul copper-plate of Vijayasena[1] it appears that at least in the third year of the reign of Gopachandra, whose another copper plate has been found at Faridpur in East Bengal,[2] Western Bengal, including the Bardwan district (Vardhamāna-bhukti), was included in the dominion of Gopachandra It is certainly significant that no other inscription of Gopachandra, Dharmaditya and Samachāradeva is found in Western Bengal It appears that these kings had lost their authority over these regions The campaign of Jivitagupta down to the sea shore and the victory of Mahāsenagupta on the banks of the Lauhitya show that Northern, Western and Central Bengal must have been under the control of the Guptas It appears from the combined testimony of the Aphsad and Harāhā inscriptions that the Gaudas were trying to extend beyond their limits towards the land mass of Western Bengal and also they might have been building up a maritime power. It was therefore that Jivitagupta defeated them on the sea-shore and Īśānavarman foiled their attempt at expansion

But the passage "*kritva chāyati mau* (*mo*) *chita-sthala-bhuto Gaudan sam (drāsrayān*" of the Harāhā inscription[3] has been differently interpreted by different scholars Basak[4] translates it as follows, "(Īśānavarman) made the Gauda people take shelter towards the sea-shore after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects", and he suggests that the Gauda king defeated by Īśanavarman was Jayanaga Majumdar[5] suggested an emendation and read '*apratimochita*' for '*ayatimochita*' and observed, "the engraver of the record at first

1 E I XXIII pp 155 ff
2 I A XXXIX p 193 (no c)
3 E I XIV p 120 (text), line 13 and plate
4 H N E I p 113
5 I C XI pp 123 ff

took the letter to be 'ya' but at the last moment found out his error and tried to make it as much like 'pra' as possible It may be pointed out that not only is every 'pra' in the plate of the inscription different from what Majumdar reads as 'pra' in line 13, but every 'ya' in the inscription, specially in lines 1, 4, 6, etc, is quite similar to the 'ya' in line 13, and the very little difference that may be is better accounted for to the movement of the chisel There is nothing unusual in the phrase *'āyatimochita'* There is no evidence for holding that the homeland of the Gaudas was lost, and that "the Gaudas having failed to redeem or recover their land territory were forced to remain on the sea shore", and thar "Īśānavarman was partially successful in checking the Gaudas to recover their homeland on the decline of the Gupta Empire" [1] There is no ground at all to hold that Central Bengal was the homeland of the Gaudas from the very beginning According to D. C Sircar, the correct interpretation of the exaggerated claim is that "Īśānavarman drove out the Gauda people for the future (for all ages to come-permanently) from the dry land and compelled them to take shelter into the waters of the sea" [2] According to the learned scholar the Gaudas never lived on the sea shore and the sea can hardly be a shelter of a people living on the shore Ganguli[3] also takes the passage to mean that "Īśānavarman, some time before 554 A.D, deprived the king of Gauda (modern Rajshahi division) of his sovereignty of the same country, himself took possession of it and forced the vanquished to move to sea presumably to the coastal tract of southern Bengal It further suggests that the king of Gauda was compelled to live there for a long time"

In spite of these various meanings given to the passage of the inscription we are disposed to accept the simple and obvious meaning that the coastal districts of south-western Bengal were the original homeland of the Gaudas, who were forced by

1 *Ibid*
2 J A. S B (Letters) XI p 69
3 J B O R S XIX pp 499 ff

Īśanavarman to give up their aggressive designs, and they might have for some time lost their homeland and taken shelter on the seashore The disputed passage may yield a different and more reasonable meaning Īśanavarman having deprived the Gaudas, who were on the sea, (*Samudrasrayan* i e who had launched maritime enterprises) of their extension, (made them give up their oversea activities), and forced them to stay on land This interpretation suits the composition of the verse and brings out the contrast between "*Samudraśrayan* and *Sthala bhuvah*" Īśanavarman in the preceding lines is referred to as having defeated the Śulikas and the Āndhras, the latter were a sea-faring people on the east coast, and the Śulikas were also, most probably, living in Orissa Therefore it is more natural to take the Gaudas, in the context, to be a maritime people. Their sea faring activities (piracy ?) must have alarmed their neighbours, and the Guptas The pirates live on sea, take shelter of the sea Īśanavarman's expedition against the Gaudas may have been, therefore, directed against the growing menace of piracy by the Gaudas to the detriment of the trade and commerce of the country. That may explain why the scribe of the Aphsad inscription refers to them as "presumptuous or emboldened" The Gaudas could be very easily a sea faring people, and maritime interests of some Gaudas are known from literature[1] Śaśanka, the king of the Gaudas, is referred to as ruling "over the earth, surrounded by the girdles of the waves of the waters of the four oceans together with islands"[2] Therefore it is clear that the Gaudas lived in the S. W Bengal The modern districts of Hoogli and 24 Parganas with parts of Midnapore may have constituted their home From this region they appear to have begun to entertain aggres ive designs , on the break up of the Gupta empire, they led campaigns towards the north, and also strengthened their navy The Guptas became alarmed, and when the victory of

1 India and Java II p 7 (Chatterji and Chakravarty), quoted by Sircar in J A S B (Letters) XI pp 69 ff

2 E I VI pp 143 ff

Jīvitagupta did not crush them, Īśānavarman appeared to have come to the aid of his relative (Viṣṇu-Gupta Chandrāditya?) and repulsed the Gaudas, whose king, probably the predecessor of Jayanāga, submitted to him. To us there appears to be nothing impossible in the sea being a shelter of a people living on the seashore. It is quite possible that though the Gauḍas were worsted by Īśānavarman they continued their resistance and succeeded in holding to the coastal districts Both Pāṇini and Varāhamihira place Gauḍás in Bengal in Eastern India. The Bṛihatsamhitā (XIV, 6-8) clearlry restricts Gauḍaka to a part of Bengal which is distinguished not only from Paundra, Tāmralipti, Vaṅga, and Samataṭa, but also from Vardhamāna. This is not against our plea that the Gauḍas may be located in the south-western Bengal bordering on the sea. It is true that according to Yuan Chwang Śaśāṅka was king of Karnasuvarṇa[1], which has been identified with Rangamātī in Murshidabad district in Bengal. The author of Kathāsaritasāgara also makes Gauḍa conterminous with Rāḍha. The exact limits of Rāḍha are not as yet precisely defined. The fact that Yuan Chwang found the king of Gauḍa in Central Bengal does not preclude the possibility of their being in West Bengal bordering on the sea in the beginning. Jīvitagupta I and Īśānavarman found them on the sea coast. Therefore what appears to be the fact is that, sometime before the Chinese pilgrim, the Gaudas had made themselves masters of Central Bengal and established their capital at Karnasuvarṇa. Īśānavarman had only checked them, but had not crushed their power for ever. We have already seen that the campaign of Īśānavarman was in the nature of a punitive raid. The struggle between the Guptas and the Maukharis must have encouraged the Gauḍas to try again. They renewed their efforts to spread into Western and Central Bengal. The victory of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman over the Gupta king Mahāsenagupta may have coincided with the conquest of West-

1. The Life, p. 83

ern and Central Bengal by the Gaudas, most probably under Jayanāga, who appears to have made Karnasuvarna the capital of the kingdom Jayanāga issued the Vappaghoṣavāta grant from Karnasuvarna The village *Mallia where the grant was found has been identified with the village of the same name in the Singpur police station of the Hoogli district*[1] *Udumbara* viṣaya of the grant has been identified with the Adumbara sarkar of the Bengal Subah in the Āīn i Akbari, and therefore the Udumbara viṣaya of the inscription was situated in Western Bengal[2] It is in this region that Yuan Chwang and the author of Prabodha Chandrodaya found the Gaudas, who appear to have given their name to the country, as the Malavas gave a name to the country, to which they migrated from the Punjab where Alexander had found them, as Malava or Malwa

The first historical king of the Gaudas was Jayanaga, not Śaśānka as believed by Majumdar[3] and others We have already referred to his Vappaghosavaṭa grant issued from Karnasuvarna in Murshidabad district of Bengal. The success of the Gaudas must have coincided with the Maukhari and probably the Chālukya offensives against the Gupta king Mahāsenagupta His dominion in Bihar and Bengal appears to have been divided *between the Gaudas and the Maukharis It is* certainly significant that there is absolutely no direct or indirect evidence at all to connect the Maukharis with any part of Bengal, or as a matter of fact with any part of the country east of Nalandā

But a trial of strength between the Maukharis and the Gaudas could not be far off The Gaudas could hardly forget the defeat inflicted on them by Īśānavarman[4] Ultimately the Gaudas established their control over Magadha, and the

1 ABROI XIX p 81
2 E I XIX pp 286 87ff
3 R C Majumdar (HBR I p 56) and Saletore (Life in the Gupta Age p 71) hold that Jayanaga followed Śaśaṅka But we have adduced grounds (see *infra*) to suggest that Jayanaga was the predecessor of Śaśāṅka
4 E I XXV pp 110 ff

Maukharis were confined to the modern Uttara Pradesha There are grounds for strong suspicion that there were some troubles in the Maukhari ruling family either during the last years of Avantivarman's rule or immediately after his death. We have seen that Bhāskaravarman, son of Suryavarman and grandson of Īsanavarman, requested his sister's son Mahaśiva gupta Balarjuna to make grants of land for his and his parent's spiritual merits [1] While from the Harṣacharita we know that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman[2], from the Nalanda seal of Avantivarman's son we come across another Maukhari ruler with imperial titles It is significant that the seal mentions the ancestors down to Avantivarman with the due customary titles, but it omits to refer to Grahavarman [3] Then we have the Rohtasgarh seal matrix of Śaśankadeva[4] and we have coins of Jaya— [5] These coins are of Archer Type and are described as such — "on the obverse-king, nimbate, standing left, holding bow in left hand, arrow in the right Chakra standard left, beneath left arm 'Jaya'. No trace of marginal legend. On the reverse—the goddess (Laksmi), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in the left hand and fillet in out stretched right hand, above on left, an elephant sprinkling her and the legend 'Śri Prakandayaśah'.[6] The coins generally follow the style and design of the Archer type coins of the imperial Guptas, more particularly of the later imperial Guptas like Kumara Gupta III and Visnu Gupta Chandraditya Allan, therefore, suspected 'Jaya' of the coins to be a 'Gupta' and completed the name as 'Jayagupta' [7] But there is no ground for this suspicion at all There is no trace of 'gupta' on these coins There is a copper coin in the same Catalogue on which Allan[8] suggests the reading (ja) yagu (ptah), but the

1 E I XXIII pp 113 ff
2 H C (CT) pp 122
3 E I XXIV pp 283 ff
4 C I I III no 78 pp 283 ff
5 CCGDBM pp 150 51 PL. XXIV (6 9)
6 *ibid*
7 *ibid* Pl xi.
8 *ibid* p 151, Pl XXIV, 10

, according to the learned authority, is much earlier than gold coins of Jaya—[1] Therefore there is no warrant at all restoring the name as 'Jayagupta' on the coins of Jaya— absence of the Garuda standard on these gold coins further ws that Jaya—was not connected with the Guptas It should iow accepted as certain that Jaya of the coins is to be identd with Jayanāga of the Vappaghosavāta inscription, as gested by Allan himself[2] *After weighing all these evidences* cally and collectively we suggest that, taking advantage of troubles in the Maukhari imperial family which led Bhasivarman to seek shelter with Mahāśivagupta Bālarjuna, and defiance of the authority of his elder brother Grahavarman Suva—or Sucha—of the Nalandā seal, the Gaudas advanced Magadha and occupied it after defeating the Maukhari r, Suva—or Sucha The fact that we have no coins of the Maukhari prince proves that his rule was very short-lived a result of this victory Jayanāga assumed the sovereignty of gadha, and he celebrated it by issuing the Archer type of l coins resembling in design and style the coins of the imial Guptas, whose period was the Golden Age of Magadha[3] *the reverse of the coins of* 'Jaya' *we have an elephant* nkling water on the goddess Laksmi[4] This is also faintly ble on the seal of the Vappaghoṣavāṭa inscription[5] Proly it symbolizes the *abhiseka* of, or coronation of Jayanāga, in emperor of Magadha A confirmation of Jayanaga's hority in Magadha comes from the discovery of a coinuld of his coin at Nalanda.[6] Śasānka was appointed the ernor or high feudatory of Magadha by Jayanāga Rohtas

ibid pp civ cv

E I XVIII pp 60 ff

Was it just to suggest to the Magadhas that the rule of the foreign n local) dynasty was over and the new rulers (the Gaudas) intended vive *the ancient traditions of the imperial* Guptas ? *Did the* people agadha acquiesce in this change of masters ?

CCGDBM pp 150 51, Pl XXIV, 6 9

E I XVIII pp 60 ff

ASIAR 1935 36 p 52, Plate XVII d There is no Gupta *on the* ld Jaya' is exactly in the same character as on the coins It is defi y a mould of the Archer type coins of Jaya whom we have identified Jayanaga

garh, on the Son, may have been chosen as the seat of t new government as it was strategically near the frontiers of t Maukhari kingdom in U P, presided over by Grahavarma This explains the presence of the seal matrix of Mahasāmar Śasankadeva at Rohtasgarh[1] Ganguli thought that Śaśan was a feudatory of Avantivarman, and for some time of Grah varman as well, and so he was not a national hero of Beng but rather a successful conqueror[2] But there is no proof th Grahavarman was ever a ruler of Magadha. The coins Śaśanka are very similar to those of Jayanāga The latter referred to as a 'Gaudaraja', in the M.M K[3] Śaśanka is ce tainly the Gauda king, who killed Rājyavardhana. Therefo Saśānka was certainly a native of Bengal, who became gove nor of Magadha According to Majumdar, Śaśanka beg his life as a 'Mahasamanta' under Mahāsenagupta, "w must have conquered Magadha, as otherwise he could hard have proceeded up to the Brahmaputra river"[4] But this conti gency, necessitating re conquest of Magadha from the Ma kharis by Mahasenagupta, is hardly possible Mahasenagup marched up to the Lauhitya not after his defeat at the han of the Maukharis but before this Naturally, therefore, Śaśan could neither be a feudatory of a Maukhari king nor of Mah senagupta He was a Gauda, and his rise began under t Gauda king Jayanāga Śaśanka became the Mahasāmanta Magadha under Jayanāga Neither the Maukharis nor t Guptas could trust him with this high office in view of th past hostility with the Gaudas The upshot of the entire d cussion is that the Gaudas under Jayanaga took advantage the trouble in the Maukhari family over the question of M gadha. Śaśanka was chosen as the leader of the campai against Magadha, and after the successful expulsion of t Maukharis from the country he became the high feudato

1 C I I III no 78 pp 283 ff
2 IHQ XII pp 456 ff
3 *I H I* (*Text*) p 55, v no 750
4 HBR I p 56

under the Gauda king Jayanāga. Thus the rise of Śaśānka practically began with the disruption in the Maukhari family on the issue of Magadha Our theory is singularly corroborated by the M M K, wherein it is clearly stated that "there will be mutual disunion in the Magadha monarchy in the east at the time of the rise of Soma (Śaśanka).[1]

1. I H. I. p. 65. sec 51. *ibid* (text), p 58, v. 780.

ŚAŚĀṄKA.

(1) The origins of Śaśānka.

The lineage and the early history of Śaśānka have been regarded as absolutely obscure and therefore have been the subject of numerous speculations. From the Harṣacharita we learn that Rājyavardhana was killed by the king of Gauda The king of Gauda according to one manuscript of the Harṣacharita was named Narendragupta[1] According to Yuan Chwang, *Śaśānka, the king of Karnasuvarna in Eastern India,* killed Rājyavardhana[2]. Therefore it can hardly be contested that Śaśānka was the king of Gauda, and if we rely on the solitary authority of the manuscript quoted by Buhler, then Narendragupta might have been a second name for Śaśānka. Nagendra Nath Vasu thinks that the king of Gauda, who killed Rājyavardhana, was Narendragupta, and Śaśānka was his 'Mahāsāmanta'.[3] But this is impossible, because the Chinese pilgrim makes a definite and positive statement that Śaśānka, the king of Karnasuvarna, killed Rājyavardhana : and besides there is no place for a Narendragupta in the 7th century A D in the history of Madhyadeśa.

Some scholars have tried to connect Śaśānka with the Guptas. Vidyavinoda takes him to be the son of Mahāsenagupta.[4] Bannerji suspected that probably 'he belonged to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha', and 'both he and Devagupta of Mālava probably, tried to restore the prestige of the Gupta *dynasties of India immediately after the death of Prabhākara*vardhana'.[5] The same provenance and the similarity of the coins of Śaśānka with those of the later imperial Guptas—e.g Kumāra

1. H C (CT.) p 178, E I. I p 70
2. On Yuan Chwang (Watters) I p 34
3 Social History of Kāmarūpa III, quoted by K. L Barua in J.A R S I p 97
4 Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali p 85 (intro)
5 History of Orissa Vol. I. p 125

Gupta III—led Bannerj to this conclusion [1] But there is no real basis for this suspicion Alliance between Devagupta and and Śaśanka against their common enemies, the Maukharis and their allies the Vardhanas, does not, and should not, suggest any blood-relationship between Śaśanka and Devagupta Similarity in the style and provenance of the coins does not necessarily prove any family kinship between the Guptas and Śaśanka *On the same grounds Bhattasali connects Śaśanka* with Samacharadeva [2] The existence of the Rohtasgarh seal-matrix does not prove any connection between Śaśanka and Mahasenagupta or the imperial Guptas On his coins we have 'nandidhvaja' instead of 'garudadhvaja,' as commonly found on the Gupta coins There is not even an indirect hint in the inscriptions of his feudatories about his alleged connection with the Guptas, which was certainly a point of special honour not to be missed by his vassals when the latter were eulogising their sovereign over lord No allusion to this suspicion is even indirectly made in the Harsacharita when it refers to the king of Gauda on many occasions Raychaudhuri[3] rightly remarks that "there is no reason to believe that Śaśanka belonged to the Gupta family, even if he had a secondary name, Narendragupta"

Bhattasali's suggestion that Śasanka was the son and successor of Maharajadhiraja Samacharadeva is equally unacceptable The grounds on which this startling theory is based are that, (a) a Rajalila type of coin of Samacharadeva was found with a gold coin of Śaśanka,[4] (b) both Samacharadeva and Śaśanka were Śaivas and have the bull on their coins and (c) Allan[5] holds that the coins which have Narendraditya on the reverse

1 ibid B I p 105
2 J A S B (N.S) XIX Num Sup p 54 N ff
3 P H.A I (4th edn) p 514 foot note 3 Barua (Early History of Kāmarupa p 60) comes to the same conclus on He adds another reason that as Śaśanka was a persecutor of Buddhism he could not belong to the Gupta dynasty which was a follower of the policy of rel gious toleration
4 CCGDBM p CXXVII
5 CCGDBM Intro Pl xi cxxiv pp 149 50 Allan read 'Narendrāditya on the reverse on both the co ns while on the obverse of the archer

are earlier than those of Śaśānka. But all these grounds are weak and untenable. With a coin of Śaśānka and the Rājalilā-type coin of Samāchāradeva were also found the coins of Chandra Gupta II, Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta,[1] but because of this nobody would hazard the theory that Narendrāditya, i. e. Samāchāradeva, as proved by Bhattasali (loc. cit.), belonged to the Gupta dynasty. Śaśānka certainly came after Samāchāradeva and he may or may not have conquered Eastern Bengal, but this can never point to the conclusion that Śaśānka was the son and successor of Samāchāradeva, because by such reasoning any conqueror would become the descendant of the vanquished. As for the similarity of the coins of Śaśānka with those of Samāchāradeva, it is important to note the differences as well. We have only one coin (Archer type) of Samāchāradeva, which has a bull standard on the reverse. His other coin is of Rājalilā type and it has no sign of 'nandī-dhvaja' or any symbol connected with Śiva. Therefore, it is obvious that the 'nandī-dhvaja' or bull-standard was not an exclusive and permanent specific feature of the coinage of Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya. But on all the specimens of the coins of Śaśānka[2] we have the 'bull' *on the obverse with the moon* and the image of Śiva. This certainly leads to the conclusion that the Nandī-symbol was a distinct and specific characteristic of the coinage of Śaśānka. Moreover it is interesting and necessary to note the vital differences between the bull-standard coin of Samāchāradeva and the coins of Śaśānka. The coin of the for-

type he read 'saha' or 'sama' or 'yama' (*ibid* p cxxiv) ; while on the 'Rājalila, type he read 'yama' ? dha', on the obverse ' Smith (C I M I. p 120 No 1) read on the archer type coins, specified 'uncertain', 'cba' between the feet on the obverse, and possibly 'Narendravinata' on the reverse, and on the other designated as 'Throned-king type' i e. Rājalilā type (*ibid* p 122 No. 1. Pl. XVI. 13) he read 'yama' on the obverse and *Narendrāditya on the reverse According to R D Bannerji the name of the* king on both the coins is 'yama' and the reverse legend is Narendravinata. Bhattasali (loc cit) has conclusively proved that the two coins belong to Samāchāradeva Narendrāditya, who is the same as Mahārajādhirāja Samāchāradeva who issued a copper-plate grant, found in the Faridpur district of Eastern Bengal (J R A S VII N S pp. 475 ff).

1. CCGDBM. p. cxxvii.
2. CCGDBM. pp 147-48 ; C I.M.I. pp. 121-22.

mer has been described by Allan as follows —Archer type, wt. 148 2 grs, obverse the king standing on left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Bull (nandi) on left, beneath left arm 'shaha (?) cha', *no trace of marginal legend*, reverse, Goddess (Laksmi), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand and fillet in out-stretched right hand, symbol (?) on left Śri Narendraditya "[1] No coin of Śaśanka *exceeds 145 6 grains in weight*[2] *The coins of* Śaśānka have been described by Allan as follows —obverse, Śiva, nimbate, reclining to left on bull (nandi) to left, with left hand uplifted, holding uncertain object, moon (Śaśanka) above on left, on right *Śri* Śa, below Jaya, reverse goddess (Lakṣmi), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand which rests on knee, and with outstretched right hand empty, above on either side elephant sprinkling water over her (abhiṣeka), no symbol, on right Śri Śaśankah[3] The differences between the two would be obvious to all The 'bull' with Śiva and the moon on the obverse, and elephant sprinkling water on the goddess on either side on the reverse are features *distinguishing these coins from* the coins of Samācharadeva

The most serious objection against the theories that connect Śaśanka with the Guptas or Samācharadeva is that Śaśanka was a Gauda[4] and neither the Guptas nor Samacharadeva *nor his* predecessors Dharmaditya and Gopachandra are ever referred to as 'Gauda' in the inscriptions The coins of Śaśanka may in style and provenance be similar to the coins of the imperial Guptas, but the design on the obverse and reverse of the coins of Śaśanka disprove any dynastic connection between

1 CCGDBM p 149
2 *ibid* pp 147 48 C I M I pp 121 22
3 CCGDBM p 147
4 The murderer of Rajyavardhana is called '*gaudadh pa* 'gaudadhama, dustagaudabhujanga (H C (parab) pp 187 188 192) and the vilest of the Gaudas (H C CT p 180) Gauda serpent (*ibid* p 185) Harsa promised to clear this earth of the Gaudas (*ibid* p 187) nirgaudam na karomi medinim (Parab p 194). All these quotations make it clear that the Śaśanka the murderer of Rajyavardhana, was a Gauda or a native of Gauda otherwise there was no reason to abuse the whole people

him and the Guptas Majumdar suspected some relationsh between Śasanka and the Mana chiefs[1] But there appears to no real basis for this suggestion Purely imaginative is t opinion of Gosavi[2] that as there is a Mriganka in the Varm dynasty of Kamarupa, so Śaśanka may be a prince of t Varman dynasty, probably a cousin of Bhaskaravarman needs no comment at all

We proceed to discuss now the relationship between Śaśar ka and Jayanaga Jayanaga issued the Vappaghosavata grai from Karnasuvarna[3] The gold coins of Jaya have bee rightly attributed to Jayanaga[4] The period that elapsed be ween Jayanaga and Śaśanka, both kings of Gauda, could n be long, as is clear in the context of the history of the perio and the characters on the coins and inscriptions A compara tive study of the coins of Jayanaga and Śasanka confirms ou suspicion that there was some sort of close relationship betwee the two and the one followed the other almost immediatel In Allan's expert opinion "the issuer of the coins which bea the reverse legend 'Śri Prakandayaśah', and have 'Jaya beneat the king s arm on the obverse may be connected with Śasar ka" After comparing the coins of 'Jaya—and Śaśanka the learned scholar concludes, "It is clear from the resemb lance of the reverses that the coins of Jaya and Śaśanka ar closely connected[5] Naga appears to be an appellation c Jaya, and there is no trace of 'gupta' on his coins[6] It may b of some significance to note that Śaśanka or the Gauda king who killed Rajyavardhana, is at numerous places in th Harsacharita compared to a serpent[7] Jayanaga and Śaśanka

1 JAHRS X pp 1 ff
2 J A R S II p 12
3 E I XVIII pp 60 ff
4 See *supra*
5 *ibid* p cv
6 *ibid* pp 150 51
7 H C Text (Parab) vr tha vitatav pulaphanabharo bhujangānām bhartā bibharti yo bhogena mrstp ndamera kevalam pp 191 probably refers to Śasanka or h s government (CT p 183 fn 8), dustagaudabhu janga (Parab p 192) (H C CT p 185) *It has to be admitted that no* where n the Harsacharita is Śaśānka compared to a serpent by the term nāga

were associated with Karnasuvarna, as the capital of their kingdom, and while Śaśānka is called the king of Gauda in the Harsacharita, *Jayanāga is probably referred to as 'Gaudarāja' in* the Manjusri-Mūla Kalpa[1] Śaśānka is referred to as belonging to the Brāhmana caste, and Jayanaga is also said to belong to the same caste.[2] *All these facts prove that Śaśanka* and Jayanāga were closely related to one another But the nature of the exact relationship between the two can only be guessed. Except for the reference to a 'Gaudarāja Nāgarāja' with 'Jaya' as the beginning of his name in the Manjusri Mūla Kalpa, soon after Śaśānka,[3] there is no positive evidence that Jayanāga followed Śaśanka Though Jayasval has not taken this passage to refer to Jayanāga, (he takes it to allude to a much earlier period),[4] we may agree with Majumdar[5] in regarding the verse as referring to Jayanaga The M M K is at many places confused as regards chronology and details At one place it says that Śasanka was a brahmana, and at another it asserts that the murderer of Rājyavardhana was of a low caste[6] Then from the same source it appears that Jayanāga was earlier than Soma (Śasānka) and that Jayanāga had made war in Orissa, and after him there was a division of Gauda tantra between Śaśanka and another man[7] In view of such contradictory remarks and the perfunctory nature of the work, we may not be correct in arriving at any conclusion as to who followed whom But one thing is clear if we believe that Jayanaga preceded Śaśanka, we can rely on the Manjuśri Mūla-Kalpa as much or as little as the other side

Our plea that Jayanāga was followed by Śaśānka and not *vice versa*, is not against numismatic evidence. According to

1 I H I p 55 (Text) v no 750
2 *ibid*
3 I H I p 50 (text) v no 753
4 *ibid* p 51
5 H B R I p
6 I H I p 50
7 *ibid* p. 66, Text p 62, v no 829 B, 829 C

Allan[1] "the base gold coins which bear the name Jaya cannot be earlier than the end of the sixth century A D" It may be of some significance that the coins of 'Jaya', having the average of 136 grains in weight, are lighter than those of Śaśanka, whose average weight is 145 8 grains[2] As generally accepted, the lighter coins of 'Jaya'—may be earlier than the heavier ones of Śaśanka As against this it may be pointed out that the light weight 'is due to the fact that they are of very base metal',[3] and that Cunningham[4] has shown that coins of 'Jaya—(gupta ?)' are much more alloyed than those of Śasanka On this ground Bhattasali[5] held that Jayanaga must have come later Debasement of coins, though generally suggests a later period than that of the coins of better metal, can never be taken as necessarily suggesting a later date as a universal rule Coins of Prakasaditya[6] are much better than the coins of some of his predecessors as regards the fineness of the metal Then we have a coin of Śasanka[7] which for its purity of metal is unique not only among his own coins but also among the coins of the most of the later imperial Gupta like Kumara GuptaI II and Visnu Gupta Chandraditya Cunningham had very few coins of Jayanāga and Śaśanka at his disposal, and therefore his conclusion about the percentages of the pure metal and alloy may not be very reliable We examined some of the coins of Śaśanka in the British Museum which are more debased than those of Jayanaga Some of the coins of Śaśanka are so thoroughly debased that they are actually of copper with a plating of silver, and had a thin wash of gold over it, and must have circulated as gold coin[8] The better quality of Śaśanka's coins may reflect a more prosperous period for the kingdom than was the case in the time of Jaya

1 CCGDBM p CIV
2 ibid p CXXXIV
3 ibid
4 C M I
5 J A S B (N.S) XXI Num Supp. pp N 6 ff
6 CCGDBM pp 135 36
7 CCGDBM p 148 (612) pl XXIV, 2
8 App I b

naga The existence of the seal-matrix of Mahāsāmanta Śaśankadeva at Rohtāsgarh in South Bihar appears to strengthen our contention that Śaśānka was a Gauda and came after Jayanāga Sen[1] held that "*Śaśānka began his career* as a Mahāsāmanta in Magadha", and, "this post he held probably under Avantivarman the father of Śarvavarman" He further observed that "*in this capacity he may have exercised some sort of control over* the Varmans of Gaya, whose status does not seem to have been higher than that of a Sāmanta" He concluded, "Śaśanka was as yet only a high official, but the edifice of his future greatness was reared on this comparatively obscure basis, and after the defeat of Avantivarman by the Chalukyas, he made himself master of Magadha and swooped down upon Pundravardhana immediately after the death *of Mahāsenagupta*" *But the story suggested is highly* improbable The Varmans of Gaya were certainly earlier in time than the imperial Maukharis in Magadha The enemy of Mangaleśa Chālukya was more probably Mahāsenagupta, not Avantivarman. The Śūlikas of the Harāhā inscription may not have been the Chālukyas The most serious flaw in this imaginative story is that Mahāsenagupta after his defeat at the hands of the Maukharis was *not ruling in Pundravardhana* but in Malwa On the same grounds we have to reject the theory of Ganguli that Śaśanka was the high feudatory of Magadha under the Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman, and later on, he conquered Magadha and invaded Gauda, and therefore he was a native of Magadha and successful conqueror of Gauda (Bengal) Really it is difficult to understand the ascription of a Magadhan origin to Śaśaṅka If he was a native of Magadha, it would have been more natural for him to keep the centre of his kingdom in Magadha, the *country of glorious imperial traditions, than to make* Karṇasuvarna in Bengal his capital Majumdar held that Śaśāṅka

1 Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal p 261.
2 I H Q XII pp 456 ff

was a feudatory of Mahāsenagupta, who rewarded his valuable help in his war against the Varman king of Kāmarūpa.[1] But we have already shown the weakness of the theory, as it makes us presume the reconquest of Magadha from the Maukharis by Mahāsenagupta,—a very remote possibility, as we know that Mahāsenagupta's family must have suffered some serious calamity because his sons were acting as attendants on Rājyavardhana and Harsavardhana. Much more improbable is Barua's suggestion that Mahāsenagupta reconquered Northern and Central Bengal from the king of Kāmarūpa and appointed Śaśānka as Mahāsāmanta over this region, and that after the death of Mahāsenagupta Śaśānka declared himself independent.[2] Saśānka was the Mahāsāmanta in Magadha, not in Northern and Central Bengal.

Thus we find that there is no real basis to connect Śaśāṅka with Guptas or the Maukharis. Śaśānka was a Gauḍa and Jayanāga was also a king of Gauda. It appears to be very plausible that Śaśāṅka was appointed as Mahāsāmanta of Magadha by Jayanāga, who extended his authority over Magadha. In the history of Magadha, as known from Yuan Chwang, inscriptions and literature, there is no place for a powerful king like Jayanāga, in the period following Śaśāṅka. After Śaśāṅka we have to place Pūrnavarman, Harsa and Mādhavagupta in Magadha. Therefore if Jayanāga could ever be connected with Magadha, as certainly was the case, then he must have come before Śaśāṅka.

This fact appears to receive unexpected corroboration from the coins of Śaśānka. These coins[3] have on the obverse legends 'Śrī Śa' and below it 'Jaya'. It is clear from the coins that the legend 'Jaya' is complete by itself and is not a part of any fuller legend. It is exactly in the same form and characters as 'Jaya' on the coins of Jayanāga. It is a very general practice

1. HBR. 1. p. 59.
2. Early History of Kāmarūpa pp. 58-59.
3. CCGDBM. pp. 147-48.

to have the name of the ruling king on the obverse of the coins, and therefore the legend 'Śri Śa' certainly stands for Śaśānka and 'Jaya' for Jayanāga. It is quite possible that Śaśanka was the *yuvarāja* of Jayanaga and was associated with the government in the life time of Jayanāga, as was a very common practice in ancient India The coins of Śaśānka may have originated in this way and continued later on, just to recall Jayanāga with gratitude and to emphasize the close relationship between the two. Śaśānka, being the viceroy of Magadha, must have been the most powerful figure in the kingdom, and, therefore, it could not have been difficult for him to make himself the architect of the Gauda empire Thus the comparative study of the coins of Śaśānka and Jayanāga suggests that Śaśanka followed Jayanāga Whether it was a peaceful succession or otherwise cannot be said at present. Śaśanka may have been an usurper, and therefore continued to put the name of Jayanāga on his coins to impress on the people that succession from Jayanāga was direct and legitimate. It is significant that on some of the coins of Śaśānka there is no mention of 'Jaya'[1]. Such coins may have been issued in the later years of Śaśānka, when his position was secure in Gauḍa.

(ii) *The accession and conquests of Śaśānka*

In view of the paucity of materials at our disposal it is impossible to state in detail the exact course of events of Śaśānka's assumption of the sovereignty of the Gauda empire. It is very unfortunate that while his rival Harsa had Bāna and a sympathetic Yuan Chwang to paint his life in rosy colours, Śaśāṅka, who is in no way inferior to Harṣa in achievements and statecraft, had only prejudiced authors to tell his incomp-

1. CCGDBM, p 148 No 612, Pl XXIV, 2 This coin is much lighter in weight than others and is of very fine metal On this coin on the obverse Allan hesitantly reads 'Jaya', but I had the privilege to examine the coin with Mr Allan and the legend is certainly not Jaya, and Allan agrees with this remark Allan considers the coin to be a contemporary imitation There is another coin of Śaśaṅka in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the obverse of which Smith hesitatingly reads 'Saja'. Its weight is 145.6, the usual average weight of Śaśāṅka's coins

lete and distorted story. In view of the fact that Śaśanka was dead before 637 A D, and is known to have been ruling in 619 A D, we may not be wrong in assuming that he came to occupy the throne at Karnasuvarna in about 602 A.D The prosperity of Gauda under Śaśānka is indirectly proved by the coins, some of which are of finer metal than those of Jayanāga, and one of them is 'unique for its purity of metal, fabric and weight'. The reverses of the coins of Jaya— and Śaśānka treat the same subject—the abhiseka[1]—but on the coins of Jaya—we have only one elephant sprinkling water on the Laksmi, while on the coins of Śaśānka we have an elephant on either side Does not this suggest greater power and pomp of Śaśānka ?

Śaśanka was a powerful king ruling over a vast territory. This is, indirectly of course, attested by Bana, Yuan Chwang, and the M M K. The various inscriptions of the time which have lately come to light show that his empire was extensive The style and the provenance of his coins tell the same story. Between 602 A D, when he came to the throne, and 606 A D., when he killed Rājyavardhana, he appears to have made his weight felt in the countries of Dandabhukti, Utkala and Ganjam. He was master of Magadha and controlled almost the whole of Bengal

From the Ganjām plates of Madhavaraja II, dated the Gupta year 300 (=619-20 A D), we know that Śaśanka was *recognised as the 'Mahārajādhiraja' in Kongudha (Ganjam)* —mandala at that time.[2] There can be no doubt that the Mahā rājādhirāja Śaśanka of the Ganjām plates was the same Śasānka who killed Rajyavardhana The stages going before the conquest of the Ganjām district of Orissa were not known In the absence of any proof of the authority of Śaśanka over the northern part of Orissa, it was a matter of speculation whether Śaśanka controlled the modern districts of Balasore and Cuttuck, through

1 CCGDBM p CV
2 E I VI pp 143 ff

which he must have passed for advancing to the Ganjām region. B C Majumdar realised how difficult it was for Narendragupta (Śaśanka) to come 'upon Puri without traversing the districts of Balasore and Cuttuck,' and that how could he, from his seat in Bengal, 'keep the Kongudha country under his rule when the northern portions of Orissa were under the rule of another house of rulers' To meet the difficulty he was constrained to suggest that "Śaśānka may have swooped down upon Kongudha (Ganjām) through the road from Bengal to Puri through Dalbhum and the hill tracts of Orissa"[1] But fortunately we are now in a position to state that Śaśanka took the usual and more convenient route from Bengal to Ganjām through the districts of Midnapur and Balasore From the two copper plates of Śaśanka's time found in Midnapur[2] it is clear that Śaśanka was master of Dandabhukti and Utkala (Northern Orissa) These plates are dated, but most unfortunately the dates are very difficult to decipher. Majumdar[3] reads the year 19 or 309 (G E) on the first plate and the year 8 on the second He takes the dates to refer to the period of the office of the feudatories and not to the regnal year of the sovereign This is very unusual. We think that the plates must have been dated in the regnal years of the overlord Śaśanka The numerical figures on the first plate are very unusual, and nothing of the kind appear on the inscriptions of the Guptas or even on those from Nepal The first numeral appears to resemble the first numeral of the date of the inscription of Buddharaja,[4] and the latter has been read as denoting '300' On this analogy the first letter denoting the date on the first plate of Śaśanka may be read as '300' But it may be stated that there is also some difference between the two, as will be clear from the examination of the plates in question Because of similarity between this letter with the first letter signifying

1 B C Majumdar Orissa in the Making pp 110
2 *JASB (Letters)* XI pp 1 ff
3 *Ibid*
4 E I XII pp 30 ff

the days of the month in the same plate,[1] Majumdar read it as '10' But he was aware of the difference between the two The second numeral, which is very probably the sign for 'la', has been read by the learned scholar to be '9', on the analogy of the Paharpur plate, where the same letter has been read by Dikshit to mean '9'.[2] In the Svalpa Vetūra grant of Ganga Anantavarman, the numeral 'la' has been read as '9'[3] But it may be pointed out that neither of the learned scholars has cited any authority for reading '9' from the sign 'la' The numeral 'la' has been read as '3' in line 26 of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman Bühler read it for 3 in the Jirjinji grant of Indravarman[4] Subbarao,[5] D C Sircar,[6] and Ghosh[7] read the same sign in the inscription as denoting '30' Bühler read the syllable 'la' in the Chicacole plate as 3[8]. In the Table number 71 of Ojha's Bhartīya-prāchīna lipi-mālā, the numerical syllable 'la' has been read as 3 in the three inscriptions belonging to Śivaskandavarman and Jayavarman[9] It is particularly important to note that the first two signs of the above table closely resemble the second numeral of the first plate of Śaśānka denoting both the years and the day of the month In view of this we feel that we may be nearer the truth in reading the dates on the plate as year 303 or 13, and the day as 13th of the month. The first numeral of the syllables denoting day must be '10', as Majumdar has read, on the analogy of the Biharsharif inscription of Mahendrapāla[10] The date on the second plate is the year 8, as read by Majumdar.[11] Therefore Śaśānka was certainly ruling over the modern districts of Midnapur and Northern Orissa as is clear from the plates under discussion,

1 JASBL XI pp 1 ff (Letters)
2 E I XX pp 61 ff
3 *Ibid* XXIV pp 129 ff
4 E I III pp 131 ff, Buhler's Table IX Col XV, 2
5 JAHRS VII, pp 229 ff
6 *Ibid*
7 E I XXV pp 281 ff
8 Indian Palaeography, p 78
9 Bharatiya Prachīna Lipi Mālā, Table 71
10 M A S I No 66 p 105, Pl XI d
11 JASBL XI pp 1 ff

either in 622 23 A D , if the first plate is dated in the Gupta era or in 615 A D , if it is dated in the 13th year of his reign It may be pointed out that the date marks for the year on the second plate are very much damaged, and though it has been provisionally read as being dated in the 8th year, it may have been actually dated in the Gupta era, as are the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II[1] or the Patiakella grant of Maharaja Śivaraja,[2] or the Soro plate A of Maharaja Śambhuyaśas[3] But it is equally possible that the Midnapur plates are dated in regnal years, as are the other three plates from Soro and the Balasore plate of Maharaja Bhanu

Four copper plates have been discovered in Soro in the Balasore district of Orissa[4] From plates B and C we come to know that Mahabaladhikrita Antaranga and Mahasandhivigrahika Somadatta made grants of land to Dhruvamitrasvamin, Ārungamitrasvamin and others in the year 15[5] From Midnapur plate number I of Śaśanka we know that in the year 13 (read 9 by Majumdar) on the 13th day of Bhadra, 'while the illustrious Śaśanka is protecting the earth ——Dandabhukti along with Utkala is ruled by the illustrious feudatory Maharaja Somadatta'[6] The learned scholar has adduced very good reasons for identifying Somadatta of this plate with Somadatta of the Soro plates He has rightly presumed that the unnamed suzerain of the latter plates was Śaśanka[7] The late Mr N G Majumdar[8] on the basis of the difference in the palaeography between the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II and the Soro plates held that the Soro plates belong to the earlier period and should be assigned to

1 E I VI pp 143 ff
2 *Ibid* IX pp 285 ff
3 *Ibid* XXIII pp 197 ff N G Majumdar read the date in the Kalachuri era, but R C Majumdar has shown that it should *belong to the* Gupta era (JASBL. XI pp 1 ff)
4 E I XXIII pp 197 ff
5 *Ibid*
6 JASBL. XI pp 1 ff
7 *Ibid*
8 E I XXIII pp 197 ff

the Kalachuri era. But Majumdar[1] has conclusively proved that the Soro plates and the Midnapur plates of the time of Śaśanka betray exactly the same palaeographic characteristics, and therefore both sets of plates belong to the same period. The date 260 on the Soro plate[2] may therefore be read as of the Gupta era From the Soro plate D[3] we learn that Mahāpratihāra Mahārāja Bhanudatta in the year 5, meditating on the feet of his suzerain, made grants of land to Priyamitrasvāmin, Vatamitrasvāmin, Dhruvmitrasvāmin and Ārungamitrasvāmin This Bhanudatta has been identified with Mahāpratihāra-Mahāraja Samanta Śrī Bhānu of the Balasore copper-plate-inscription[4] This is also dated in the year 5, and in it mention is made of the fact that the feudatory was meditating on the feet of the sovereign overlord (Paramabhaṭṭāraka) The donees of the grant are Priyamitrasvāmin, Vatamitrasvāmin, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Ārungamitrasvāmin The donees of this grant are the same as of the Soro plate D, though the Balasore plate is earlier by a little over three months than the Soro plate[5] In Soro plates B and C the donees are, besides others, Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Ārungasvamin N G. Majumdar, the editor of the Soro plates, opined that "there could be no difference of more than a generation between Bhānudatta and Somadatta"[6]. R C Majumdar concluded that Somadatta was followed by Bhanudatta in the government of Uttara-Tosali on the grounds that the names of the two donees in the B and C plates from Soro reappear along with others in plate D of the same set, and the name Ārungasvāmi is changed into Ārungamitrasvāmin in the latter [7] We beg to differ from the conclusion arrived at by the learned scholar The fact may be just the reverse In the Soro plate D and in

1 JASBL XI pp 1 ff
2 E I XXIII p 197 ff
3 *Ibid*
4 IHQ XI pp 611 ff, E I XXVI pp 239 ff
5 E I XXVI pp 239 ff
6 *Ibid* XXIII pp 197 ff
7 JASBL XI pp 1 ff

the Balasore plate of Śrī Bhānu the donees' names end in 'mitra', but in the Soro plates B and C the name of Ārungamitrasvamin is changed into Ārungasvamin It appears that the real name was Ārungamitrasvamin and later on it was shortened into Ārungasvamin [1] The two other donees—Priyamitrasvamin and Vatamitrasvāmin—who do not appear in the Soro plates of Somadatta, were probably dead It may have some significance that Dhruvamitrasvamin and Ārungamitrasvāmin appear last in the list of the donees in the Soro andB alasore plates of Bhanudatta, while in the Soro plates B and C Dhruvamitrasvamin and Ārungasvāmin are mentioned at the head of the list Moreover as the dates on the copper plates of the feudatories must have been in the regnal years of the overlord Śaśanka, the date of Bhānudatta's plates[2] being 5, it is obvious that Bhanudatta must have come earlier than Somadatta, whose earliest date is probably 13 in the regnal year of his overlord The foregoing discussion makes it clear that before the 5th year of his reign Śaśanka was master of Uttara Tosali, modern Balasore and Midnapur districts. From the Patiakella inscription of the (Gupta) year 283 (=602-3 A D) we learn that the sovereignty of the Mana family was recognised at least in the Cuttuck district of Orissa[3] The imperial titles in the inscription may refer to Śambhuyaśas From the Soro plate A it is clear that in the year 260 Mahārāja Śambhuyasas granted land in the Balasore district, then situated in Uttara Tosali[4] N. G. Majumdar thought that the date belonged to the Kalachuri era[5], but R C Majumdar has conclusively proved that the date should be assigned to the Gupta era [6] It is, therefore, clear that at least from G E. 260 to 283 the sovereignty of the Mana rulers was recognised in

1 E I XXIII p 197 ff, IHQ XI pp 611 ff, E I XXVI pp 239 ff
2 E I XXIII pp 197 ff
3 E I IX pp 285 ff
4 *Ibid* XXIII pp 197 ff
5 *Ibid*
6 JASBL XI pp 1 ff

Northern and Central Orissa It is certainly significant that while imperial titles are not given to Śambhuyaśas in the Soro plate, in the Patiākella inscription he seems to be referred to as Paramabhattaraka Devatadhidevata [1] He belonged to the Mudgala family [2] It is also notable that in the Soro plate Maharaja Śambhuyaśas is referred to as 'va (ba) ppa padanudhyatah without any imperial titles' [3] Was Śambhuyaśas acting for his father? But in 283 G. E (=602 3 A D), the date of the Patiakella grant,[4] he was the supreme lord himself Śambhuyaśas may have belonged to the Mana family *Whether the sovereignty of the* Mana extended further south to the Ganjam district, where the early Śailodbhava rulers are given feudatory titles, as suggested by Majumdar,[5] *is not certain Therefore the conquest of Orissa, at least Nor*thern and Central Orissa, by Śaśanka must have happened between the years 602-3 A D, the last known date of Śambhuyaśas and the 5th year of Śaśanka's reign, the date of Bhanudatta s plates If the accession of Śaśanka took place in about 602 A D, as assumed in these pages, then the conquest of Orissa must have been over before 607 A D This success must have been achieved against the Mana ruler Śambhuyaśas It appears reasonable to conclude that after the conquest of Northern Orissa, as is clear from Śaśanka's Midnapur plates, he advanced farther south, made himself master of the Cuttack district, and extended his dominion at least up to the Ganjam district in the south, as is clear from the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II [6] Bhanudatta appears to have been appointed to hold charge of the newly conquered province of Northern Tosali or Northern Orissa and Dandabhukti (Midnapur) Bhanudatta was followed by Somadatta It appears from a close study of the Midnapur plates of Śasanka that in the

1 E I IX pp 285 ff
2 *Ibid* XXIII pp 197 ff
3 E I XXIII pp 197 ff
4 *Ibid* IX pp 285 ff
5 JAHRS X pp 1 ff
6 E I VI pp 143 ff

beginning Utkala and Dandabhuti were separately governed. In the 8th year we find Mahāpratihāra Śubhākṛti ruling the Dandabhukti,[1] but in the 13th year Somadatta is governing Utkala with Dandabhukti.[2] From the Soro plates B and C we find that Somadatta was ruling the Sarephāhāraviṣaya (identified with the village Soro in Balasore district), which was situated in Uttara-Tosali in Odraviṣaya.[3] This shows that at that time Odra and Utkala meant the same region, i e. Northern Orissa Dandabhukti comprised the modern district of Midnapur. Traditions also connect Śaśāṅka with Midnapur.

Śaśānka certainly exercised control over almost the whole of Bengal His conqests in Orissa prove his sovereignty over South-western Bengal, including ancient Tāmralipti (Tamluk). From the Harsacharita we learn that he was king of Gauda, and Yuan Chwang expressly informs us that his capital was at Karnasuvarna. Thus he was master of Central and Western Bengal. A coin of Śaśānka was found with the Rājalilā-type coin of Narendrāditya (identified with Samāchāradeva) at Muhammadpur, near Jessore.[4] This may suggest that Śaśānka's authority extended even to the eastern parts of Bengal. But it may be pointed out that coins are very portable, and it is very possible to find them in places which may have nothing to do with their issuer. But we are on surer grounds in assuming that Śaśānka ruled over Northern Bengal or ancient Pundravardhana. A tradition connects a tank in the Bogra district of Northern Bengal, with the name of Śaśāṅka[5] During this period no other power is known to have exercised rule over this region M. M. K. clearly associates Śaśānka with Pundra.[6] This conclusion is confirmed by a newly found inscription in Assam, where we are told that a Gauda army

1. JASBL. XI, pp. 1 ff.
2. *Ibid.* -
3. E. I. XXIII, pp. 197 ff.
4. CCGDBM. pp CXXVII.
5. Sen *op cit.*
6. I. H I. p. 50. Text No 712-715.

crossed the Lauhitya[1] into the Kāmarūpa country. This could have been easily done from Puṇḍravardhana.

Śaśāṅka's dominion included Magadha. This is clearly proved by the account of the Chinese pilgrim who mentions Śaśāṅka's activities in Magadha.[2] His Seal-matrix was found at Rohtāsgarh.[3] His coins have been found at Nālandā[4] and Gayā.[5]. His dominion is said to have extended up to Banaras in the west.[6]

Śaśāṅka had succeeded to the Gupta heritage, and would naturally have tried to emulate his distinguished predecessor Mahāsenagupta in attempting to make his weight felt in Kāmarūpa. In a new set of copper plates discovered at Doobi in the Kāmarūpa district and belonging to Bhāskaravarman it is stated that the Gauda army invaded Kāmarūpa after crossing the Lauhitya, and was defeated.[7] The record gives "a vivid description of the battle that ensued between the Bengal army (Gauḍabala) on the one side and the two Kāmarūpa princes, Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman on the other"; and "the inscriptions further state that the Bengal army was defeated and the two princes of Kāmarūpa returned home victorious."[8] From the inscriptions it is clear that it was not the Kāmarūpa army which had taken the offensive, but it was the Gauda army which was proceeding towards the country of Kāmarūpa *after crossing the Lauhitya*. We are further informed that the victory did not lead to any part of Bengal being occupied by the forces of Kāmarūpa. Therefore the war, from the point of view of the Kāmarūpa dynasty, was defensive, though successful. This set of plates are certainly earlier than the set of the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, wherein

1. JARS. XI. (1944) pp. 33 ff.
2. Watters II, pp 92, 114-15.
3. C. I. I. III pp. 283 ff.
4. ASIAR. 1924-25 pp 136 ff.
5. C. M. I. PL. II. no. 5, p. 19.
6. I. H. I. pp 49 ff.
7. JARS XI. pp. 33 ff.
8. *Ibid.*

it is stated that Bhaskaravarman was in possession of Karnasuvarna, the capital of the Gaudas[1] The new set of plates from Doobi prove that Supratisthitavarman was a king and must have succeeded his father Susthitavarman,[2] who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Mahasenagupta[3] This Gauda invasion must have happened before the accession of Bhaskaravarman and after the death of Susthitavarman, who must have been mentioned if he was alive at that time The mention of Supratisthitavarman kataka in the Nidhānpur plates[4] may suggest that Supratisthitavarman had reorganised the army This was probably done after the defeat sustained by Susthitavarman at the hands of Mahāsenagupta[5] The reorganiation of the army by Supratisthitavarman may have alarmed the Gaudas, who decided to take the offensive before it was too late This may explain their invasion of Kamarūpa. The Gauda king who was responsible for this invasion was most probably Saśanka, whose warlike activities are well known. The invasion, though it failed in its immediate objective, must have created a sense of danger in the minds of the rulers of Kamarupa This served as the real background of Bhaskaravarman's mission of alliance to Harsa.

Thus Śaśanka with his capital at Karnasuvarna ruled over a large part of Northern India, which included parts of the modern Uttar Pradesha, the whole of Bihar, Orissa and a very large part of Bengal The rise of Śaśanka at the head of such a vast empire was by rapid stages, and was attained before he came into conflict with the Maukharis and Vardhanas This is covertly alluded to by Bana when Rajya and Harsa meet one another after the death of their father and the whole city is in mourning, Bana refers to the rise of the clear-flecked moon in the firmament[6] He observes "*prakatakalan-*

1 E I XII pp 65 ff
2 JARS XI pp 33 ff
3 C I I *III No* 42 pp 205 ff
4 E I XII pp 65 ff
5 C I I III No 42 pp 205 ff
6 H. C. (CT) pp 168

kamudayamānam visaṅkatavisānotkirna-panka sankara śankaraśakūra śakkarakakudakutasankāsmakāśatākāse śaśānkamandalam"[1] No where in the Harṣacharita is Śaśanka directly referred to by his name, and the reference to the rise of the blotted moon certainly refers to Śaśanka, the king of Gauda "The word used for the moon (Śaśanka) confirms the commentator's statement in page 195 (text) that he was the Gauda king"[2] The reference to the moon, Śiva and the Bull in connection with Śaśanka reminds us of the Śiva, the Bull and the full moon on his coins[3] The use of the word 'mandalam' is very significant It shows that Śaśanka had continued the tradition of Kautilya's policy and was at the head of a circle of vassal states Bana makes him not a petty king of Gauḍa but a king at the head of a circle of states The Ārya-Mañju-śrī-mūla kalpa also indirectly proves that Śaśanka was already a great king before he met Rājyavardhana. About R. (Rajya-vardhana) we are told that he will be 'as powerful as Soma (Śaśanka)'[4] This certainly suggests a status and power of Śaśanka, which, an author prejudiced against him and biased in favour of Rājyavardhana, could not but mention as an object worth comparison. At another place in the same work we are informed that Soma (=Śaśanka) was "an unparalleled hero and will become king up to Banaras and beyond"[5]

III *Śaśanka, the Maukharis and the Vardhanas*

It is clear that between 602 and 605 A D Śaśānka's hegemony was established over a large part of Northern India His rapid rise to the position of an all India power had profound effects on the international, or rather inter-state, relations of India The Maukhari king Grahavarman sought the alliance of the powerful Pusyabhūti family of Thāneśvara and offered himself as a candidate for the hands of Rājyaśri, the daughter of

1 H C (Text) (parab) pp 178
2 H C (CT) pp 275
3 CCGDBM p 147 IL XXIII 14 15 and 16, XXIV 1
4 I H I p 50
5 *Ibid* p 49

Prabhākaravardhana.[1] The latter had come into conflict with Devagupta of Malwa[2] and therefore welcomed this alliance. After the Puṣyabhūti-Maukhari alliance, caused partly by the rise of Śaśānka, counter alliance between the Gauḍas and the Guptas of Malwa against their enemies—the Maukharis and the Vardhanas respectively—could not be far off.[3] It is no doubt true that while we have positve literary evidence about the alliance of the Maukharis with the Vardhanas, we have only to assume the Gauḍa-Gupta entente. The subsequent events make such an evenfuality not only probable but almost a certainty, though there is no warrant for the assumption that "the Gaudas and East Malwa were allied even before the time of Śaśānka and Devagupta."[4]

Assured of the powerful support of Śaśānka, Devagupta attacked Kanauj, killed Grahavarman, imprisoned Rājyaśrī and was planning to attack Thāneśvara, immediately after he had heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana.[5] Devagupta may have been waiting for Śaśānka to join, and so did not march towards Thāneśvara, but was planning to attack it. But before Śaśānka could appear on the scene, Rājyavardhana acted with terrific rapidity. Leaving Harṣa to take care of Thāneśvara, probably to counter any surprise attack and also any panic among the people during the critical situation, Rājya started with Bhandi and ten thousand horsemen 'to lay the royal house of Mālava in ruin.'[6] Success followed his efforts,[7] and the Mālava king (who was certainly Devagupta), was severely defeated and thousands of elephants, uncountable ornaments of various kinds, beautiful women of Malwa, numerous regal paraphernalia and

1. H. C (CT.) pp. 122 ff
2. See *supra*.
3. *It is really an irony of history that while Mahāsenagupta had* sought the alliance with the Vardhanas against the growing menace of the Maukharis, his successor Devagupta made an alliance with the Gauḍas against the Vardhanas.
4. JASBL. XI. pp. 69 ff.
5. H. C (CT) p 173.
6. *Ibid.* p 175
7. *Ibid* p 178.

the vassals of the Mālava king were captured by Rājyavardhana.[1] From the Madhuban and Banskhera plates of Harṣa we learn that Rājyavardhana had subdued in battle 'king Devagupta and others who resembled wicked horses.'[2] Thus it is clear that Devagupta was defeated by him and a large booty fell into the hands of Rājyavardhana. It is not clearly stated that Devagupta lost his life in the contest. One thing is clear that, as a result of the defeat of the ruling king of Malwa, the country passed at least temporarily into the hands of the Kalachuris, as we find Buddharāja issuing a landgrant from Vidiśā in 609 A. D.[3]

But Rājyavardhana had to face a more powerful and skilful foe in Śaśāṅka. The history of Kanauj since the murder of Grahavarman is crowded with events, and unfortunately their sequence is not absolutely clear. Śaśāṅka appears to have occupied Kanauj, as Rājyaśrī managed to escape from there 'during the Gauḍa trouble.'[4] In some manuscripts of the Harsacharita instead of '*guptanāmnā grihīte kuśasthale,*' we have '*gaudair grihīte*'.[5] What actually happened was that before Śaśāṅka could join Devegupta, Rājyavardhana swooped down upon the latter. Devagupta, who was waiting for his ally to join in an attack on Thāneśvara, was forced to give battle to Rājyavardhana. Devagupta joined battle away from Kanauj, probably en-route to Thāneśvara or even on his way to Malwa. After defeating Devagupta, Rājyavardhana marched towards Kanauj, but before he could reach the place he was forestalled by Śaśāṅka, who had hurried to meet his ally, but was too late. It is clear that, as a result of his victory over Devagupta, Rajyavardhana did not come automatically into possession of Kanauj. Had he ever come to occupy the imperial city, he must have released his imprisoned sister immediately. But she was not re-

1. *Ibid.* p. 255.
2. E. I. I. pp. 73 ff; IV p. 209
3. *Ibid*, XII, pp. 30 ff.
4. H. C. (CT.) pp. 251 ff
5. Sen. *op cit* pp. 267-68, note 4.

leased by her brother. Now a struggle between Śaśānka and Rājyavardhana was inevitable, as the former occupied Kanauj, the capital of his (Rājya's) *brother-in-law*, and his sister was enchained there The result of this conflict was fatal to Rājyavardhana, who was murdered in 606 A D[1] Thus within a few months, the thrones of Kanauj and Thāneśvara fell vacant in a gloomy atmoshere Harṣa, a young man of barely sixteen, had to face problems which could have baffled the stoutest of hearts any time in history But he rose equal to the occasion That he immediately *after learning of the unfortunate death of* his brother ascended the ancestral throne of Thāneśvara is undoubted, and there is no basis for Smith's statement that the nobles of Thāneśvara hesitated to offer their allegiance to him[2] From the Harṣacharita it is clear that the nobles imme-

1 There is some controverv over the manner in which Rājyavardhana met his death *at the hands of Śasaṅka* Baṇa says that '*the Gauḍa king* allured Rājyavardhana to confidence by false civilities and 'thus weapon less, confiding alone, he was despatched in his quarters'—(H C CT pp 173 ff) Yuan Chwang *states that Śaśankaraja, having the superior military* talents of this king (Rājyavardhana), made a plot and murdered him" (The Life, pp 83 ff) From the Si yu ke we learn that 'Śaśānka or his ministers called Rajyavardhana to a conference and murdered him' (Records I p 210 Watters On Yuan Chwang I pp 343 ff) According the the Madhuban copper plate inscription of Harṣa, Rajyavardhana 'in consequence of his adherence to a promise gave up his life (E I I pp 73 ff) In view of these references, many scholars like Vaidya (HMHI I pp 44 ff) Basak (HNEI pp 141 50) Ganguli (IHQ XII pp 462 64) and others believe that Śaśānka was guilty of some foul play in his dealing with Rājyavardhana who met his death through the treachery of the king of Gauḍa But some scholars like R C Majumder (HBRI pp 71 76) R P Chanda (GR. pp 8 ff) and R D Bannerji (B I pp 107 ff) have cast doubts on the story of Bana, Yuan Chwang and the scribes of Harṣa They point out differences between the stories of Bana and the Chinese pilgrim *In veiw of complete* absence of any corroborative account from any other source they are not inclined to accept in toto the statements of Baṇa and Yuan Chwang, who were partial to Harsa *and interested in painting his enemy Śaśanka in very* bad colours Moreover, they point out that it is difficult to believe that Rajyavardhana would attend a conference in the camp of his enemy with*out any precau ion. It is equally possible that allusion of Rājya meeting* his death in consequence of his promise may refer to his promise to release his sister and that he faced Śaśaṅka with men and materials that had suf*fered some depletion* due to the war against the king of Malwa Though we feel that there must have been some substratum of truth in the story of Bana and Yuan Chwang which is indirectly confirmed by epigraphy of the period, the matter may be considered still subjudice in the absence of any evidence from the other side

2 EHI 4th edition p 451

diately rallied round Harṣa, who complied with all the forms of royalty.[1] Vaidya has rightly shown, and in this the has been followed by subsequent writers, that Yuan Chwang's account of the hesitation of Harsa in accepting the throne is in connection with Kanauj and not with Thāneśvara.[2]

When Harṣa heard of the sad fate of his brother and the advice of Simhanāda "to so deal that for the future no other follow his (Śaśāṅka's) example,"[3] he took a vow that "unless in a limited number of days I clear the earth of the Gauḍas and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl my sinful self like a moth into an oil-fed flame."[4] He ordered Avanti, the supreme minister of war and peace, to issue the necessary proclamation and make adequate preparations.[5] From the account of Bāna it is clear that huge preparations were made by Harṣa to wage war against the Gauḍa king. Unfortunately we do not know what arrangements were made by Śaśānka to meet this grave emergency. It is possible to assume that the heavy financial burdens necessary to meet this menace led to the issuing of actually copper coins with a thin wash of gold over them to be used as gold coins.[6]

But it appears that he left Kanauj in the hands of his officer named 'gupta', who released Rājyaśrī, probably to divert the attention of Harṣa,[7] or the '*Gupta kulaputra*' might have been

1. H. C. (CT.) pp. 180-94.
2. HMHI. I. p. 7; TK. pp. 68-70. Harṣa. p. 28, note I.
3. H C. (CT.) p 182.
4. *Ibid*, p 187
5. *Ibid*, pp 188 ff.
6. App I b.
7. H. C (CT) pp. 251 ff. D C. Ganguli (JBORS. XIX. pp 407, note 48) thinks that this 'Gupta' was Devagupta. This is a gratuitous suggestion. Devagupta, the king of Malwa, was thoroughly defeated by Rājyavardhana and therefore there is no ground to suppose that he conquered Kanauj from Śaśānka when we have *reasons to suspect that there was an* alliance between the two. We have no basis at all for assuming that Devagupta and Śaśānka fell out among themselves after the death of Rājyavardhana. Moreover, the Malwa king who is so badly abused by Bāna can hardly be referred to as '*kulaputra*' as 'Gupta' is. Moreover, when Devagupta had imprisoned Rājyaśrī, there is no reason to assume that he was responsible for her release Then Devagupta is spoken of very contemptuously

a friend of the Maukharis[1] A more compelling reason Śaśānka to hurry to his capital was the attitude of his easte neighbour, the king of Kāmarūpa

Bhāskaravarman, who succeeded Supratisthitavarman the throne of Kamarūpa, must have been feeling alarmed the all round successes of his hostile neighbour, Śaśānka T absence of Śaśānka in the west, away from his capital, mig have encouraged the king of Kamarūpa to entertain some a gressive intentions against the Gauda king The news of Śaśā ka's falling out with the Vardhanas and Harsa's vast prepa tions against him, induced Bhaskaravarman to seek an allia with Harsa against the common enemy Shrewd Śaśānka mi have got an inkling of what was going on in the mind of t king of Kamarupa, probably by his foreign espionage T explains his evacuation of Kanauj before meeting the challen from Harsa That Śaśānka was correct was proved by sub quent events Bhāskaravarman sent an envoy to Harsa, w met him in a camp on his march from Thāneśvara against t enemy Hamśavega reported to Harsa that "the sovereign Kāmarūpa desires with your majesty (Harsa) an unperishal alliance "[2] Harsa welcomed the offer, and the mission of Ha śavega was successful Harsa sent valuable presents for Bhāsl ravarman and asked the envoy 'to use his influence in such way that my (Harsa) yearning to see Kumara (Bhaskarava man) may not torment me long.'[3]

The events that followed the conclusion of this alliance a not clearly known. Many scholars have readily assumed th

in the inscriptions of Harṣa which could never be the case if he had rel sed Rājyaśrī We have already seen that in some manuscripts of the H ṣacharita instead of *gupta namna grihite Kuśasthale* we have '*gaudair g hite*, which shows that Gupta' came from Gauḍa Some have identifi this Kulaputra Gupta' with Śaśanka the king of Gauda, who is cal Narendragupta in same manuscripts of Harṣacharita (E I I p 7 Whether Śaśānka had another name as Narendragupta must be proved the basis of more solid grounds than the solitary reference referred to by Bu ler Then Śaśānka would be the last person to be called '*kulaputra*' Bāṇa, who only abuses him So the Gupta was a Gauḍa officer

1. I H Q VIII pp 1 ff
2. H C. (CT) p 218
3. *Ibid* p 219

immediately afterwards the combined armies of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman invaded Gauḍa and defeated Śaśāṅka. Vaidya[1] held that Śaśāṅka submitted to Harṣa, was pardoned by him, and allowed to retain his kingdom. Pannikkar[2] thought it probable that "the Gauḍa king (Śaśāṅka) accepted Harṣa's suzerainty and was allowed by him to rule his state as a vassal. A mould at Rohtāsgarh describes him as a Mahāsāmanta." N. Ray takes the same line and observes "Śaśāṅka afterwards (after the death of Rājyavardhana) was defeated by the combined forces of Bhaṇḍi and Bhāskaravarman and probably it was then that the Rohtāsgarh seal was inscribed, which speaks of him as Mahāsāmanta."[3] The facts that are known do not make it easy to agree with so simple a conclusion. It is impossible to reconcile the fact of Harṣa's taking a vow to exterminate the Gauḍas with the alleged assumption that he would ever pardon the murderer of his brother and appoint him as a high feudatory to hold charge of the important province of Magadha, even if we concede the most unlikely possibility of such a powerful king as Śaśānka agreeing to serve as a vassal of his enemy. Some have gone so far as to believe in such utter discomfiture of Śaśānka that it has been suggested in a learned journal that Śaśānka was defeated by Harsa and was forced to give up a part of his dominion and marry his daughter to Harṣa, who permitted him to use the title of '*Mahārājādhirāja*', "*otherwise it is not possible to account for the continued survival* of Śaśāṅka as a king of Gauda for the next seven years."[4] The above remarks are completely imaginary and the product of a prejudiced mind, not deserving to be taken seriously. On the basis of the Nidhānpur copper-plate inscriptions of Bhāskaravarman issued from Karṇasuvarṇa,[5] Barua held that the alliance between Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman 'was disastrous

1. HMHI; I. pp. 30 ff.
2. Śrī Harsa, pp. 17 ff.
3. C. I. I. III No. 78 pp. 283 ff.; C. R. 1928 pp. 207 ff.
4. IHQ. XII. pp 142-43.
5. E. I. XII. pp 65 ff.

for Śaśānka,' as "while Harṣa's cousin Bhandi attacked from the west, Bhaskaravarman at once attacked from the east and occupied Karnasuvarna, being defeated from two sides Śaśanka fled towards Orissa'[1] The late Mr R D Bannerji was also 'in no doubt about the fact that eventually he (Śaśanka) was driven out of Karnasuvarna', and it was "quite possible that this event had taken place before the dates of the Ganjam plates, and at that time he lost his possession in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only'[2] Heras also concluded that Śaśanka was driven out of Magadha by Harsa[3] Yuan Chwang who mentions the king of Kamarupa and Magadha, does not mention the ruling kings of Karnasuvarna, Pundravardhana, Tamraliptı and Samatata, The conclusion which has been generally drawn from this is that at that time these countries had no kings and were dependencies of Harsa The Manjuśri mula kalpa also refers to the defeat of Soma (Śaśanka) by 'Ha' (Harṣa)[4]

On the other hand there are important considerations which throw serious doubts on the theory of the defeat of Śaśanka by Harṣa Bana, who describes in detail the preparations by Harsa against Śaśanka, makes no mention of his victory over Śaśanka This silence becomes all the more significant when we find Bana referring to Harṣa s victory against the king of Sindh and the king of 'an unaccessible land of the Himalayas', but being silent over the alleged success against his most serious enemy[5] The incident of the falling of the golden seal on the ground, which was taken by the courtiers to be a sign of bad luck, might have been mentioned by Bāna to suggest indirectly that Harṣa met with failure in his chosen mission[6] Yuan Chwang, who mentions the fact that Śaśanka had murdered Rajyavardhana,[7] does not even indirectly refer to his defeat at the

1 Barua *op ci* pp 65-66
2 History of Orissa Vol 1 p 129
3 JBBRAS (N S) I II pp 116 ff
4. I H I p 50
5 H C (CT) pp 76 ff
6 *Ibid* pp 198 99 ff
7 *The Life* (Beal) p 83

hands of Harṣa. The Chinese pilgrim was very much biased against Śaśāṅka, as is clear from the *Records* and the *Life*, and therefore if Harṣa had thoroughly defeated Śaśāṅka, this event could never have been ignored by the pilgrim, partial to Harṣa. It is important to note that the pilgrim mentions important events that happened in the recent past. He refers to Harṣa's failure against Pulakeśi,[1] the rise of Pūrṇavarman in Magadha, the change in the political condition of Hiraṇyaparvata,[2] Lampa (Laghman),[3] and others. Naturally the success of Harṣa against Śaśāṅka was too important an event, if true, to be missed by the pilgrim. According to the account of the pilgrim Śaśāṅka was followed by Pūrṇavarman in Magadha. Whenever Śaśāṅka is mentioned by the pilgrim it is always in association with Magadha or Karṇasuvarṇa and not with Orissa or Ganjām. We have already seen that Śaśāṅka's conquests of Orissa and Ganjām happened before he faced Rājyavardhana, and therefore it is hardly correct to hold that "being forced to abandon his scheme of expansion in the west, Śaśāṅka found a fresh outlest for his military energy in the east—conquest of Orissa."[4] The Ganjām copper-plates of Śaśāṅkarāja, dated in 619—20 A. D., are so worded that it appears that up to that date Śaśāṅka was in the fullness of his glory,[5] and could not have undergone the humiliation of a severe defeat. In the Midnapur plates of his time he is referred to in glowing terms.[6] These plates are dated, and we have read the dates as 13 and 8 in the regnal years of Śaśāṅka.[7] It is clear that up to the 13th year of his reign Śaśāṅka was master of the Daṇḍabhukti and Utkala regions. The fact that in the Midnapur as well as in the Ganjām plates Śaśāṅka is referred

1. *Ibid*, p. 147.
2. Watters, II, p. 115.
3. *Ibid*, p. 181.
4. Sen, *op. ci.* p. 272.
5. E. I. VI. pp. 143 ff. Śaśāṅka is referred to as 'the Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka ruling over the earth *surrounded by the girdle of the waters of the* four oceans together with islands, mountains and cities.'
6. JASBL. XI, pp. 1 ff.
7. See *supra*.

to as the overlord by his feudatories may suggest that he was ruling over these regions from his centre in Karnasuvarna Thus it is clear that up to 620 A D, at least, Śaśanka was enjoying the fruits of his sovereignty. In view of these overwhelming facts it is not possible to agree with Barua that Śaśānka was driven out of Bengal and his empire was divided between Harsa and Bhāskaravarman before 610 A D, which he considers to be the date of the Nidhānpur plates[1] Much reliance cannot be placed on the statement of Yuan Chwang that Harsa "went from east to west subduing all that were not obedient," and that "after six years he had subdued the five Indias," and "after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace"[2] The passage is evidently confused. In the *Life* we are told of Harṣa's campaign in Ganjam in about 642-43 A D[3] His war with Pulkeśi also happened long after 610 A D[4] Therefore it has been rightly pointed out that "the account of Yuan Chwang about Harsa should be accepted with caution" The Chinese pilgrim visited Magadha in 637 for the first time, and he speaks of the vandalism of Śaśanka in Magadha 'in recent times,'[5] or 'lately,' in 'late times'[6] This also tends to confirm our point that Śaśānka's rule over Magadha was quite fresh and his rule could not have ended far away from 637 A D

The only other point in this connection that remains to be examined is the account in the Mañjusri-mūla kalpa which refers to a defeat of Śaśanka by Harsa Before we discuss the relevant passage of the work it is important to understand its nature It is a Buddhist work of a purely sectarian kind. Only one chapter purports to give an account of important events and personalities in a prophetic manner as the Hindu Purānas The names of the kings are mentioned by initials,

1 JARS I pp 97 ff
2 The *Records* vol I p 213
3. The *Life*, (Beal) p 157
4 ABORI XIII pp 300 ff
5 Watters II pp 92 115
6. *Records* II pp 91, 118.

which often cause a serious headache in their identification with known personages of History. Very often chronology and sequence of events and persons are inextricably confused. The whole thing is done more to confuse than clarify facts, and being profoundly coloured with religious and sectarian notions it is often impossible to separate the grain from chaff, facts from fiction. It is not an impartial history, neither is it intended *to be so. Therefore, even when identification of the persons* is possible, the account about them may not be absolutely correct. If they are Buddhists then their account would be exaggerated; and if they are non-Buddhists, they would be maligned and their smallest failures would be described as terrible disasters. The account of Soma, rightly identified with Śaśāṅka, clearly suffers from all these defects. He is spoken of in vilest of terms and cursed many times. Naturally therefore, any account of the mutual relations between the pro-Buddhist Harṣa and the anti-Buddhist Śaśāṅka found in this partial sectarian work should be treated with suspicion. It is no doubt true that the book contains in important particulars genuine historical traditions; but it would be risky to rely on it for details, especially in matters in which the author was obviously interested one way or the other. About the struggle between Śaśāṅka and Harṣa the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa appears to give details. It says "He (Harṣa) will be with a great army__ ______and decides against Śaśāṅka (Soma). The powerful *vaiśya* king with a large army marched against the Eastern country, against the capital Puṇḍra of that characterless man. Adopting the duty of Kṣatra with the sense of personal injury *and indignation, he, though kind*, prone to religion and learned, kills many, becomes an oppressor of living creatures for the reason of being engaged in the duty of chastisement. He defeated Soma, the pursuer of wicked deeds; Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (henceforth). He returned, having been *honoured (?) in that* kingdom of the barbarian (Mlechchhas). He, an excellent king amongst followers of Artha (--śāstra) and Dharma (—śāstra), was

successful in his undertaking"[1] Jayasval calls it "the battle of Pundravardhana."[2] It is certainly significant that, while Karnasuvarna was the capital of Śaśanka, the battle is alleged to have been fought in Pundravardhana, identified with Mahasthāna in the Bogra district of Northern Bengal It is called (*puram uttamam*) here[3] and Jayasval translates it as the capital[4] More probably Pundravardhana had continued to be the capital of the province of Pundravardhana in the time of Śaśanka Realising the danger from the Varman dynasty of Kamarūpa, Śaśanka may have concentrated at Pundravardhana, which lay on the Karatoya, which was the western boundary of the kingdom of Kamarūpa in the time of Yuan Chwang It is certainly not safe to rely on the evidence of the Mañjuśri mūla kalpa alone for the alleged battle between Harṣa and Śaśanka. But even then if one reads between the lines of the quoted passage it appears that Harsa was not completely successful, as alleged in the work. Śaśanka could not be crushed, and was left in possession of his kingdom (svadeśa). Harṣa had to withdraw. The use of the word 'Mlechchha' in connection with Puṇḍra or the country of Śaśanka, indirectly suggests that, whatever may be claimed for Harṣa in the work, really he was not welcomed by the people there and had to return after patching up a truce with Śaśankā Harṣa, who had promised to exterminate the Gaudas from the earth, could never willingly have left Śaśānka in possession of his kingdom and be satisfied with his mere subordination Therefore, even if the verses quoted above contain some element of genuine historical tradition, they only show that Harṣa was, at best, only partially successful, which is referred to in the *Life*, wherein we are told that Harṣa "was soon able to avenge the injuries received by his brother."[5] But Thomas Watters translates the similar passage in the *Records* differently: "continuing the

1. I H I p 50
2. *Ibid* p 51
3. *Ibid*, Text, p 53 v 723
4. *Ibid* p 50
5. The *Life* (Beal) p. 83

narrative the pilgrim goes on to state that as soon as Śīlāditya became ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection."[1] Here it is obvious that it is not expressly stated, as in the *Life*, that Harṣa succeeded in avenging the death of his brother. We are not in a position to explain this vital difference in the accounts of the *Records* and the *Life*. However, we do not feel that there is sufficient authority to hold that Śaśāṅka was thoroughly defeated by Harṣa in the early years of his reign. What actually appears to have resulted from Harṣa's first campaign against the Gauḍa king was that Śaśāṅka had to eschew his ambition to become the master of the whole of Northern India. He evacuated Kanauj and the Maukhari territories and had to be content with his own kingdom of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, where he was ruling before he came into conflict with Rājyavardhana or entered into an aggressive alliance with Devagupta of Malwa. This partial success of Harṣa has been exaggerated by partial authors. Smith was instinctively right in observing that "Śaśāṅka escaped with little loss."[2]

IV. *Last Years of Śaśāṅka.*

The rule of Śaśāṅka over Magadha is characterised by the Chinese pilgrim as a period of vandalism against the Buddhist institutions and sacred monuments. Śaśāṅka tried to efface the foot-print of the Buddha on the stone in Pāṭaliputra;[3] he cut down the Bodhi Tree and destroyed its root "down to the water and burnt what remained."[4] He destroyed the image of the Buddha in the *vihāra* east of the Bodhi Tree,[5] and as a dire consequence of this irreligious act he perished by a fell disease.[6] He is referred to as 'overthrowing and destroying the law of

1. Watters I. p. 343.
2. EHI. (3rd End.) p. 339.
3. Watters II. p. 92.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 114-5.
5. Records (Beal) 11, pp. 121-22.
6. *Ibid.*

Buddha"[1] We are informed that by "Śaśanka's extermination of Buddhism "the magnificent establishment, founded by wealthy Brahmaṇa at Kuśinagara, suffered much, as "the groups of the Brethren were all broken up"[2] The state of Buddhism had become so low that the most important factor which weighed with Avalokiteśvara to advise Harṣa to accept the throne was to "raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karnasuvarna'[3] The author of the Mañju śri mula kalpa says 'Soma (Śaśanka) enamoured by the words of the Tirthakas, will burn that great bridge of religion (dharma), as prophesied by former jinas (Buddhas)______ and fell down all the monasteries, gardens and chaityas______ and he will die of a disease in his mouth'[4] That Śaśanka was not a Buddhist is clear from his coins, on which we find the bull, the moon and Śiva[5] This is confirmed by the account of Yuan Chwang, where we are told that Śaśanka wanted to remove the image of the Buddha and replace it by that of Śiva in the temple east of the Bodhi Tree[6]

But we have no other authority except the prejudiced pilgrim and the Manju śri mula kalpa to confirm Śaśanka's acts of vandalism against Buddhism Of course there must have been some element of truth in the account of Yuan Chwang, who could not invent only lies about a king who had passed away almost immediately before him Moreover, the excavations in Nalanda clearly show that the famous monastery suffered destruction many times in its long chequered history. It is quite possible that after the Hunas, Śaśanka also attacked the famous Buddhist seat of learning[7] Allan has rightly concluded, "It is certain, then, that Śaśanka was a persecutor of Buddhism, although the Chinese pilgrim may credit him with

1 *Ibid* p 91
2 Watters I p 43
3 Watters I p 343
4 I H I pp 49 50
5 CCGDBM pp 157 8 Pl XXIII 14.
6 Watters II p 116
7 ASIAR 1924 25 p 136 JBBRAS N S I II p 216

more than he deserves"[1] But it is fair to bear in mind that, while the pilgrim refers to Śaśanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, he does not allude to a single instance of such acts of fanaticism in Karnasuvarna, the capital of Śaśānka. Yuan Chwang observes that in Karnasuvarna there were ten Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 Brethren, who were all adherents of the Sammatiya school, and he also mentions the *magnificent Raktamṛita monastery beside the capital.*[2] This fact makes it difficult to explain Śaśanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, when he appears to have followed the traditional ancient Indian policy of religious toleration in the home-provinces It may be suggested that the reasons for the persecution of Buddhists in Magadha may have been more political than religious Magadha was the centre of Buddhism from the very beginning. There were numerous Buddhist monasteries and seats of learning, and it is quite reasonable to assume that the Buddhists, probably the most fully organised sect in India, must have exercised some power in the history of Magadha The later imperial Guptas patronised the Buddhist monasteries The Maukharis were also patrons of these monasteries and their seals have been found at Nalanda Grahavarman, who was the victim of the Devagupta—Śaśanka conspiracy, had an inclination towards Buddhism, and his great friend was Divakaramitra.[3] Rajyaśrī was a follower of Buddhism,[4] and Rājyavardhana was also a devotee of the Buddha[5] Harṣa also had eclectic views on religion and appears to have been attracted *towards Buddhism from the very beginning* It was probably the expulsion of the pro-Buddhist Maukharis from Magadha by the Brahmanical Gaudas which made the latter unpopular with the powerful Buddhists of Magadha The murder of the pro Buddhist Grahavarman and the Buddhist

1 CCGDBM p LXIII
2 Watters II pp 191-92,
3 HC. (CT) p. 233
4 *Ibid* p 254
5 S E. I I pp 73 74 *Parama Saugatah Rajyavardhanah*

Rājyavardhana must have made still worse the relations between the Gauda rulers and the Buddhists of Magadha A deadly struggle between the king of Gauda and Harṣa was imminent, and Śaśānka may have suspected some disloyalty on the part of the Buddhists of Magadha. In this connection it is of some significance to note that, according to the Chinese pilgrim, only a few months after the uprooting of the Bodhi Tree by Śaśānka, Pūrnavarman restored the tree to life Was Purnavarman a scion of the Maukhari family and the leader of the Buddhist discontent against Śaśānka? The latter, therefore, for pure security reasons decided to attack the powerful Buddhist community The uprooting of the Bodhi Tree may have been an economic move against the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha, as presents from all over the Buddhist world were offered at the Bohdi Tree. It is quite understandable that a foreign religious scholar like Yuan Chwang would notice in these acts of Śaśānka a deliberate policy to overthrow and destroy the Buddhist religion. Later on Buddhist writers consciously or unconsciously interpreted the actions of Śaśānka as guided purely by religious fanaticism. Such misunderstanding and exaggeration of only one of the various motives of conquerors is not unknown in Indian history Mahmud of Ghazni has suffered from the same misunderstanding, and modern research has shown that his breaking of Hindu temples and images was inspired more by greed and lust than by religious fervour

It is not definitely known when exactly Śasānka died But it appears certain that he was holding Magadha till his death. Yuan Chwang observes, "In recent times Śaśānka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree ——— A few months afterwards Pūrnavarma, the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life"[1] This certainly proves that Śaśanka was immediately followed by Pūrnavarman in Magadha The

1. Watters II, p 115

pilgrim further observes that Śaśanka *ordered the destruction* of the Buddha's image in the *vihara*, east of the Bodhi Tree, and as soon as he heard of the destruction of the image he "was seized with terror his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off and after a short while he died"[1] This confirms our stand that at the time of his death Śaśanka was the sovereign of Magadha The destruction of the image could only be simultaneous with the uprooting *of the Bodhi Tree*, which *was followed by the coming into power of Purnavarman only* after a few months of this act of vandalism Yuan Chwang visited Magadha in 637 A D, for the first time, and he describes Śaśanka as having destroyed the Bodhi Tree 'in recent times'[2] He visited Karnasuvarna in April 639 A D,[3] and does not mention the reigning king This certainly proves that Śaśanka was dead before 637 A D Śasanka died of a natural disease This is clear from the account of the pilgrim[4] and the Mañjuśri mūla-kalpa.[5] *According to the latter authority* Śaśanka ruled for 17 years 1 month and 7 or 8 days[6] This may not be precisely accurate, but is not far from the actuality. Śaśanka came to the throne in the early years of the 7th century after Christ, and his rule may have come to an end by 625 A D

After the death of Śaśanka in *cir* 625 A D, the Gauda empire, built up largely by the genius of Śaśanka, collapsed like a house of cards The Mañjuśri mula kalpa gives a description of the Gauda-system at the death of Śaśanka It says "After the death of Soma (Śaśanka) the Gauda political system (Gauda tantra) was reduced to mutual distruct, raised weapons and mutual jealousy one (king) for a week, *another for a month, then a republican constitution—such will be the daily* (condition) of the country on this bank of the Ganges where

1 Records (Beal) II p 122
2 Watters II p 115
3 CAGI (S N Majumdar edn p 647)
4 Records (Beal) II p 122
5 *J H I* p 50
6 *Ibid.*

houses were built of the ruins of the monasteries Thereafter Soma's son Mānava will last for 8 months"[1] This may probably reflect a true picture of Gauda after the exit of Śaśānka from the stage In this state of political and constitutional instability in the centre of the empire, the distant provinces could not be expected to adhere to the aprons of Gauda Magadha became independent under Pūrnavarman, a few months after the death of Śaśānka The Śailodbhavas of Ganjām declared their independence While in the Ganjām plates of Mādhavarāja II Śaśānka is mentioned as overlord,[2] in the Khurda plates of the same ruler, Mādhavaraja II, there is no mention of any overlord, and Mādhavaraja is referred to as 'master of all Kalinga', and the grant is issued from the victorious camp of Kongoda. Bengal passed into the control of Harṣa (as will be shown later), and Orissa also appears to have ultimately fallen into his hands, as is clear from the account of Yuan Chwang. Thus the first Bengal empire in Indian history perished with the death of the first great national hero of Bengal

1. I H I pp. 50-5
2. E. I VI, p. 143

CHAPTER IX.

MAGADHA UNDER PŪRṆAVARMAN AND HARṢA

(i) *Pūrnavarman.*

From the account of Yuan Chwang it is perfectly clear that Pūrnavarman immediateiy followed Śaśāṅka on the throne of Magadha. There is no basis for the supposition that Harṣa and Bhāskarvarman defeatd Śaśāṅka in or before 610 A. D. and divided his empire. Śaśāṅka ruled in full glory at least up to 619—620 A.D., the date of the Ganjām inscription. A few months after his death Pūrṇavarman is reported to have restored the Bodhi Tree to life. He certainly came after Śaśānka and before Harṣa came into possession of Magadha. After Pūrṇavarman, 'the Lord of Magadha', had failed to induce Jayasena, the Buddhist scholar of Yaṣṭivana in Magadha to come to his court; and after Pūrṇavarman was dead Śīlāditya-rāja (Harsa) made the same request to Jayasena.[1] This makes it clear that Pūrnavarman was a king of Magadha and preceded as such Harsavardhana.

Our only source for the knowledge of Pūrṇavarman is the Chinese Pilgrim, who regards him as 'the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha.'[2] We do not know of any descendant of the ancient Mauryan dynasty as a king of Magadha after the coup d'état by Puṣyamitra Śunga in about 184 B. C.. It is highly improbable that the dynasty of Aśoka remained unknown and insignificant for more than 800 years, and its last member came to the throne of Magadha in the 7th century A. D.. Was it because Pūrnavarman was a zealous Buddhist king that Yuan Chwang thought him to be a descendant of Aśoka, the great Buddhist emperor ? Pūrṇavarman was,

1. The Life. pp. 153-54.
2. Watters. II, p. 115.

probably, a *scion of* the Maukhari family, as suggested by Cunningham The Maukharis were for some time rulers of Magadha and were ousted by the Gaudas. But Maukharis continued to be found in Magadha even in later times, and according to Jayasval the Mauhari community of Patna and Gaya districts are the descendants of the ancient Maukharis [1] Of course it is a mere hypothesis But if he was a Maukhari, he may have been related to the line of Yajñavarman or the imperial Maukhari dynasty The offensive alliance between Harṣa and Bhaskaravarman against the Gaudas must have encouraged Purnavarman to hope for the return of good days for the Maukharis *It is not improbable that he may have held the* leadership of the discontented Buddhists of Magadha under Śasanka's rule, and, in this he may have been encouraged by Harṣa, a very common policy for rival kings to follow in the ancient as well as in modern times This may explain Śaśanka's vandalism in Magadha. The unpopularity of the Gaudas must have facilitated Purnavarman's usurpation of the throne of Magadha immediately after the death of Śaśanka Harṣa may have tolerated this revolution, if he did not actually welcome it, as he was not anxious to alienate the Maukharis, whose throne and kingdom he had practically ususped, though he continued to associate his sister with him in his government

Purnavarman was a Buddhist king *par excellence* He brought the Bodhi Tree back to life and 'built round it a stone wall 24 feet high '[2] He was responsible for the coustruction of 'a copper image of Buddha about 80 feet high housed over a pavilion in six stages '[3] He had 'a great respect for learned men and honoured those distinguished as sages '[4] When he heard of the fame of Jayasena, the learned Buddhist scholar living in Yaṣṭivana, he invited him to come to his court, nominated him 'master of the kingdom,' and assigned for his sup-

1 Aravamuthan *op cit* p 80 foot-note.
2 Watters II p 115
3 The Life p 119
4 *Ibid*, pp 153 54.

port the revenue of twenty large towns. But the master of the Śāstras declined 'to receive them.'[1]

It is not clear from the account of Yuan Chwang when Pūrṇavarman died. The pilgrim came to Nālandā for the first time in 637 A. D.. He refers to Pūrṇavarman as having restored the Bodhi Tree to life and having constructed a copper image of the Buddha. He also refers to him as having invited Jayasena to become the master of his kingdom. But there is nothing to show clearly that Pūrṇavarman was dead at that time. He may not have been dead, and in this case Yuan Chwang's account of the king of Magadha who "respects and honours the priest and had remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent (Nālandā)"[2] may refer to Pūrṇavarman. It may be of some significance that whenever the pilgrim refers to Harṣa, he refers to him by his title Śīlāditya. Naturally it may be inferred that the king of the country (Nālandā) casually referred to by the pilgrim was certainly not Harṣa. Therefore that king must be Pūrnavarman or Mādhavagupta, as both of these can be easily assumed to have been subordinate to Harṣa. Either of these would have gladly contented to Harṣa's construction of a bronze temple in Nālandā[3] *In the Life we are told that during the first visit to* Nālandā the pilgrim noticed the 'brass-covered *vihāra* constructed by Śilāditya-rāja; the work, though not yet finished, is sufficiently advanced to show that its plan denotes a height of 100 feet and more when completed.'[4] It was later on completed, as is clear from the *Records*.[5] But when the pilgrim returned to Nālandā in either April 642[6] or in January 643 A. D.,[7] Pūrṇavarman was certainly dead. Harṣa had repeated the offer to Jayasena, originally made by Pūrṇavarman, and

1. *Ibid*, p. 154.
2. The *Life*, p. 112.
3. The *Records* (Beal) II. p. 174.
4. The *Life*, p. 119.
5. Watters, II. p. 171.
6. CAGI. (edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri), appendix A. p. 648.
7. Watters vol. II. Itinerary of Yuan Chwang (Smith) p. 336.

was ready to grant him the revenue of 80 large towns of Orissa. From the Chinese sources we come to know that in the mission which Harṣa had sent to China, he was described as king of Magadha.[1] These facts make it clear that Harṣa had assumed the title of 'king of Magadha' before 641 A. D., probably even before 639 A. D. Therefore Pūrṇavarman may have died in 638 A. D. and was followed by Harṣa.

(ii) *Gauḍa after Śaśāṅka*

We have seen that immediately after the death of Śaśāṅka, Magadha passed out of the Gauḍa empire. What happened to the home provinces of the empire? From the Nidhānpur copper plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman we learn that from Karṇasuvarṇa, once the capital of Śaśāṅka, Bhāskaravarman the king of Kāmarūpa re-issued grants of land to various Brāhmaṇas. It has been rightly held that clearly Karṇasuvarṇa was in the possession of the Kāmarūpa king. But the important question is: when did Bhāskaravarman come into possession of Karṇasuvarṇa? The theory, that in the early years of Harṣa's offensive against Śaśāṅka after the latter's defeat at the hands of the combined forces of Harṣa and the Kāmarūpa-army Karṇasuvarṇa was occupied by Bhāskaravarman, was advanced by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya in the pages of the Indian Historical Quarterly in 1927.[2] Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua strongly championed the view that Bhāskaravarman came to possess the territories of the Gauḍas in Bengal after the alleged defeat of Śaśāṅka.[3] But we have already rejected the view that Śaśāṅka was defeated, and that in consequence Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman divided the empire among themselves. But the question what happened to Bengal immediately after the death of Śaśāṅka is a different one.

Pundit Vidyavinod at first observed that "Bhāskaravarman's occupation of Karṇasuvarṇa must have happened after the

1. Watters I. p. 351.
2. I. H. Q. III. pp. 837 ff.
3. Barua. *op. ci.* pp. 65-66.

death of Harsa, as he could not have allowed the possession of so great a rival to be included in the territory of Bhāskaravarman, a weaker king to all appearance, however friendly he might have been."[1] Tripathi[2] subscribes to the same opinion. R. C. Majumdar[3] also at first (later on he cast doubts on this view) appears to have held the view that after the removal of the dreaded rival (Śaśānka) there occurred 'the absorption of his kingdom by Harṣa'. But recently scholars have questioned this simple theory. D. C. Ganguli[4] for the first time emphasized the point that as Bhāskaravarman passed unopposed with his vast army from his country to Kājangala, presumably through Northern and Western Bengal, to meet Harsa, this fact proves that these provinces or parts of the country belonged to Bhāskaravarman. R. C. Majumdar observes, "It is obvious from *Hiuen Tsang's account that Śaśānka's death loosened the bonds* which united North and West Bengal and these formed separate kingdoms in 638 A. D. Within a few years both these kingdoms were conquered by Bhāskaravarman."[5] According to the learned scholar the dominion of Harṣa comprised only "the districts roughly corresponding to the present Uttara Pradesha of Agra and Oudh together with Bihar and a small portion of Eastern Punjab."[6] Barua[7] has shown good reasons for holding that Bhāskaravarman was not a mere vassal ruler in relation to Harṣa. There is certainly no basis for the opinion of Ray[8] that Bhāskaravarman 'did not enjoy sovereign and independent authority'. The title Kumāra, which was a second name of *Bhāskaravarman according to the pilgrim,*[9] *does not show* that he was a subordinate ruler. From the Harsacharita it is clear that Bhāskaravarman was an independent king who had sub-

1. E I. XII. p. 65.
2. T. K p 102.
3. Ancient Indian History and Civilisation p. 348.
4. I H. Q XV. pp. 122 ff.
5. H B R I pp 76-77.
6. JBORS IX pp 311 ff.
7. Barua *op cit* pp.
8. IHQ. II pp 785.

mitted to none except Śiva, and that he had sought with Harṣa an enduring alliance on equal terms[1].

But inspite of these objections we feel that the balance of arguments is in favour of holding the opinion that after the death of Śaśānka Northern and Western Bengal passed into the hands of Harsa. There is no doubt that originally the alliance between Harsa and Bhāskaravarman was an alliance between equals propelled by identical reasons to oppose Śaśānka; but in later years, when the factor which had brought them together disappeared, there was bound to occur some change in the nature of the relationship. With the death of Śaśānka, it appears that Harṣa gained greater advantage. It is not impossible that as a consequence of the exit of Śaśānka Harsa did not feel the same necessity to treat his ally with the deference due to an equal This fact is clearly brought out by an episode reported by Yuang Chwang. We are informed that during his second stay in Nālandā the pilgrim was invited both by Śilāditya-rāja and Bhāskaravarman to come to see them. Ultimately he went to Kāmarūpa and stayed with the king. When Harsa came to know of this he wrote to Bhāskaravarman bidding him send the pilgrim to him The tone of Harsa's message is certainly overbearing. Harsa said "I frequently asked him to come here before this,—and he did not come; how is it that he is living there?" Sending a message therefore he bade Kumāra-rāja to send the priest of China at once. The king of Kāmarūpa replied, "He can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of Law as yet". Harsa was 'greatly enraged', and he sent another messenger who said in an abrupt manner the message of Harṣa: "Send the head that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it here". As a result of this attitude of Harsa, Bhāskaravarman was 'deeply alarmed at the folly of his language', and he immediately started with the pilgrim and a vast army of elephants and ships to meet Harṣa.[1] This incident clearly brings out that if there

6. H. C. (CT.) p. 212.
1. The *Life*, p. 172.

was any Kanauj-Prāgjyotiṣa axis, Kanauj was the stronger partner, as was Germany in the Rome-Berlin Axis in recent times. Viewed in this background, Bhāskaravarman's attendance in the religious assembly at Kanauj may suggest some slight subordination. Though there was no rule that only vassals could attend the religious assembly, and it may be that Bhāskaravarman attended it as an ally, still it is equally possible that after the insulting letter, that he had received from Harṣa, Bhāskaravarman thought it prudent to please his powerful ally by attending the assembly with his full retinue. Bhāskaravarman may not have been a feudatory of Harṣa in the constitutional sense, but, in view of the points urged above, it may not be far wrong to agree with the view of Majumdar, enunciated some time ago that "after the removal of the dreaded rival by the death of Śaśāṅka and the absorption of his kingdom by Harṣa, Bhāskaravarman came to be looked upon more as a feudatory vassal than an equal ally."[1] Such changes in the relationship between political powers have not been rare in ancient and modern history. Moreover we know from Yuan Chwang that Harṣa led campaigns into Ganjām and subdued it.[2] He also was master of Orissa, otherwise he could not promise to grant the revenue of 80 towns of Orissa to Jayasena.[3] Then, when he was returning from the subjugation of Kongodha (Ganjām) he came to Orissa, and the manner in which he was addressed and questioned[4] leaves no doubt that he was recognised as the suzerain of the country. It appears that Harṣa certainly inherited Śaśāṅka's kingdom of Orissa and Ganjām. He (Harṣa) must have followed the same strategy as was followed by his great rival, Śaśānka: that is, his conquest of Orissa and then of Ganjām must have followed his control over Western Bengal and its sea-board. This was certainly the much easier way to penetrate into Orissa and Ganjām than through

1. Ancient Indian History and Civilisation. p. 348.
2. The *Life*, p. 159.
3. *Ibid.* p. 154.
4. *Ibid.* p. 159.

the hilly parts of Chotā Nagpur. The fact that the Chinese pilgrim does not mention the kings of Karnasuvarṇa, Puṇḍravardhana, Samatata, and Tamralipti does not prove that these parts of the country were under Harsa. It may be that they were under different rulers But the silence of the pilgrim, if it does not prove the rule of Harsa over these provinces, does not also by itself disprove it. There is no doubt that it raises a suspicion in the minds of the readers whether these provinces were subject to Harsa As we have seen, Bhaskaravarman was certainly a weaker partner of the axis, and therefore Harsa could not willingly allow him to step into these vast territories after the death of Śasānka But D C Ganguli remarks that "as a matter of fact there is not the slightest evidence to prove that Harsa ever held sway over Bengal"[1] It is really strange that though there is a clear and unimpeachable evidence pointing to Harṣa's control over some parts of Bengal, it has not been pointed out so far The Banskhera plate of Harṣa, dated in the year 22 and granting lands in Ahichchhatrabhukti, was issued from the victorious camp Vardhamana-koti, where the king appears to have been staying with his vast fleet of ships, elephants and horses[2] Where was the Vardhamāna koti where it could be possible for the vast army and navy of Harsa to be encamped? In our opinion it can be identified with the modern Burdwan in Western Bengal Dey has identified it with Bardhanakoti in Dinajpur district in Bengal[3] In the Mārkaṇdeya Purana we are told of a people like the Vardhamānas in Eastern India[4] Pargiter has identified this Vardhamāna with Burdwan in West Bengal, and he observes that it is comparatively an old town In the Mallasārul copper plate inscription of Vijayasena of the early sixth century A D, we are informed of the existence of Vardhamāna-bhukti[5] It is also mentioned

1 IHQ XV pp 122 ff
2 E I IV pp 208 ff
3 Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India p. 25
4 Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Tr.) Canto
5 *Ibid*
6 E I XXIII pp 155 ff

in the Irdā grant of the 10th century and the Naihati and Govindpur grants of the 12th century. Thus we find that from the sixth to the twelfth century after Christ there was a division of Bengal known as Vardhamānabhukti. It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of this bhukti, as these have changed many times for geographical and administrative reasons. Majumdar thinks that "it embraced the valley of the Dāmodara river and is known to have inclued the Uttara-Rāḍha and Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍalas."[1] According to Bhattashali, Vardhamāna-bhukti was identical with the old division of Rādha.[2] Whatever may have been the exact boundaries of the bhukti in the sixth and seventh centuries after Christ, it should be obvious that the name must have been derived from the town or camp Vardhamāna. As Puṇḍra was the capital of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, so Vardhamāna also was the capital of the bhukti of the same name. Vardhamāna or modern Burdwan stands very close to the Dāmodara river, and could therefore be quite suitable as a base or camp for the army and fleet of Harṣa. Of course we know of a Vardhamāna in Kāṭhiawāḍ, which has been identified with modern Vaḍhvān in Eastern Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[3] But the inscription which refers to this Vardhamāna is much later than the Banskhera plate of Harṣa. Moreover there is hardly any ground to think that Harṣa conquered Eastern Kāṭhiāwāḍ; and this Vardhamāna or present Vaḍhvān could hardly serve the purpose of a camp for Harṣa's vast fleet of boats. No doubt there was a Vardhamāna-bhukti in the Valabhi dominion,[4] but it can hardly be identified with Vardhamānakoṭi of Harṣa's inscription. There is a mention of Vardhamāna-pura in Malwa[5] in an inscription of the 15th century. It is probably the same Vardhamāna-pura which is mentioned in an inscription of the Paramāra king Jayavar-

1. HBR: I. pp. 26-27.
2. JRAS. 1935. pp. 73 ff.
3. I. A. XII pp. 190 ff.
4. JBBRAS. XI. pp. 331 ff.
5. JASB. LII. pp. 67 ff.

madeva.[1] But we feel ourselves justified in identifying the Vardhamānakoṭi of the Banskhera inscription of Harṣa with the modern town of Burdwan. This identification does not go against any known fact, rather it confirms in a remarkable way some of our genuine suspicions. The Banskhera inscription[2] is dated in the year 22, presumably of Harṣa's era, and therefore should belong to 628-29 A.D. It appears, therefore, that Harṣa was master of Western Bengal in 628-29 A.D. The fact that he issued the grant from the 'victorious camp' where he was lying with his army and navy may suggest that his conquest of this part of the country may not have been far away from 628-29 A.D. We know from the account of Ma-Twan Lin that in the period 618-27 serious disturbances broke out in India and "King Śilāditya raised a great army and fought with a irresistible valour."[3] This also suggests Harṣa's occupation in campaigns against some important enemy. The fact appears to be that after the death of Śaśānka in about 625 A.D. Harṣa decided on offensive against the Gauḍas. It may be that Mānava, son of Śaśāṅka, suffered this humiliation of defeat. Harṣa conquered the home provinces of the Gauḍa empire, and it may be safely assumed that Puṇḍravardhana also must have automatically come into his power. This may explain why the pilgrim does not mention the kings of Karṇasuvarṇa and Puṇḍravardhana. The facts as related by the pilgrim leave no doubt that Harṣa was master of Utkala and had led a successful campaign in Ganjam. It appears that Harṣa had followed up his success in Bengal by establishing his authority in Orissa. The fact that Bhaskaravarman passed unopposed with his army and navy through Bengal does not lead to the inevitable conclusion that he was sovereign of this part of the country. It is equally possible that, as he was an ally of Harṣa and was going to meet him with due respect and probably to apologise for his harsh language and to accompany him to the assembly

1. I.A. XIX. pp 350 ff
2. E.I. IV pp. 208 ff
3. I.A. IX. p 19.

at Kanauj, he could easily pass through the territories which were under Harsa. Certainly he passed with the entire retinue of his army and navy through the Central India (Madhyadeśa) unopposed, but nobody would suggest that he was master of the country up to Kanauj. In view of these facts we come to the conclusion, that after the death of Śaśāṅka Karnasuvarna, Pundravardhana and probably Dandabhukti, including Tāmralipti, were conquered by Hassa, between 625 and 629 A. D. [1]

(iii) *Harṣa and Magadha*

We have seen that immediately after the death of Śaśānka, Pūrnavarman came to the throne of Magadha Though Harṣa may not have assumed the title of 'king of Magadha', there is no doubt that he must have exercised some sort of benevolent suzerainty over this much coveted land. At any rate it is certain that after the death of Pūrnavarman, Harsa became the overlord of Magadha. Yuan Chwang says that "to the south of the *vihāra* built by Bālādityarāja in Nālandā, is a *vihāra* of bronze in course of construction by Śilādityarāja."[1] In another place we are told that "after the obsequies of Pūrnavarman, Śilādityarāja invited him (Jayasena) to be 'the Master (of the country)' and assigned him the revenue of eighty large

1. Even if Nandlal Dey's indentification of Vardhamānakoṭi of the Banskhera inscription with Bardhankoti in Dinajpur is accepted, our main point that Harṣa came into possession of Bengal after the death of Śaśāṅka remains unassailed If Harṣa was master of a large part of Bengal in 628-29 A D, it is obvious that he must have passed through the country of Magadha which was then under Pūrnavarman This could have been quite possible as Pūrnavarman had no quarrel with Harṣa As a matter of fact it is obvious that Pūrnavarman could have enjoyed his soverignty over Magadha only at the sufferance of the much more powerful king, Harṣavardhana. One more point remains to be considered Bhāskaravarman told Yuan Chwang that if he selected the Southern route for his return journey to China, he (Bhāskaravarman) 'will send official attendants to accompany you (Yuan Chwang)' (The *Life* p 188) From I'tsing's account we learn that Tamralipti was the place of embarkation or disembarkation for travellers to China from India or from China to India (*Ibid* Intro. p. XXVI) But on this meagre evidence alone it may not be safe to hold that Bhāskaravarman ruled over Tāmralipti It is possible that he may have exercised some control over southern waters.

1. Watters II. p 171.
2. The *Life*, p 154

towns of Orissa." Harṣa is described as 'king of Magadha' in documents connected with his embassy to Ch na in 641 A. D.[1] A terracotta seal of Harṣa has been found in Nālandā.[2] Use of Harṣa era in Magadha, as is clear from the Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena[3], further strengthens our contention that Harṣa was the suzerain of Magadha. An incident mentioned by the biographer of Yuan Chwang throws an interesting light on this point. The pilgrim came to Nālandā in the early months of 637 A. D , and after staying for sometime went out to visit neighbouring objects of interest. Then he came back to Nālandā and stayed for fifteen months. As soon as he came back to Nālandā after visiting the sacred places all round, he requested Śīlabhadra "to explain the yoga-śāstra, in the presence of many thousand auditors. The exposition being ended, after a little time there was a Brāhmana, who uttered some pious cries outside the assembly, and then in turn began to laugh." After he had explained the cause of his weeping and laughing, "Śīlabhadra requested him to remain there and listen to the explanation of the Sūtras for fifteen months; and after the lectures, he sent a man with the Brahmāna to Śīlādityarāja, who allotted him the revenues of three villages for his sustenance."[4] This makes it clear that Harsa was the overlord of the country and patron of Magadha at least before 639 A. D., when the Brāhmana must have seen him at the end of fifteen months of lectures. Thus Harṣa came into possession of Magadha before 639 A D., and it is very likely that soon after this he nominated his favourite and relation, Mādhavagupta, on the throne of Magadha. From the Aphsaḍ inscription we learn that

1. Watters I. p. 351. Watters thinks that Harsa sent the envoy in 641 A D. From the Extracts from Ma-Twan-Lin as translated by Burgess it appears that Śilāditya assumed the title of the king of Magadha in 641 A D. and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. (I A IX p 19). According to Bushell, "The great Śilādityarāja, who called himself 'king of Magadha' is mentioned (in Chinese records) as having sent a mission to the Tang emperor after his interview with the Buddhist monk, which arrived in 641 A D." Thus it is not absolutely clear whether Śilāditya sent the mission to China in 641 or the mission arrived in China in 641 A D.
2. MASI. No 66 pp. 68-69
3. C I. I. III. pp. 200 ff.
4. The *Life*, pp. 120-121.

Mādhavagupta was desirous of the company of Harsadeva (Harsavardhana).[2] Mādhavagupta remained a loyal and sincere vassal to his benefactor Harṣa

Harsa was not only master of Magadha but also extended his authority in different degrees in the countries east of Magadha We have already seen that he was ruling over a large part of Bengal, including most of Northern and Western Bengal, even if we exclude Tāmralipti The kingdoms of Hiranyaparvata (Monghyr),[1] Champā (Bhāgalpur)[2] Kajangala (Rājmahal)[3] Odra (Orissa)[4] and Kongodha (Ganjām)[5] felt the weight of Harṣa in some form or other

1 C I I III pp 200 ff

2 About the political status of the kingdom I lan na po fa to identified with Monghyr it is stated in the *Records* that In recent times the king of a neighbouring state had deposed the ruler and given the capital to the Buddhist Brethern erecting in the city two monasteries each of which had about 1000 Brethern of the Sarvastivada school" (Watters II p 173) Beal translates the passage slightly differently 'Lately the king of a border country deposed the ruler of this country and holds in his power the capital He is benovolent to the priests and has built in the city two sangharamas, each holding something less than 1000 priests' (*Records II* p 187) In the *Life* we are told that 'Recently there was a frontier king who deposed the ruler of this country and bestowed the capital on the priests" (The *Life*, p 127) The king of the country who deposed the ruler must have been the king of Magadha which is adjacent to the district of Monghyr The king may have been Purnavarman or Madhavagupta Harṣa who was sovereign of Magadha and master of Bengal, must have exercised sovereignty over Hiraṇyaparvata

3 Champa (Bhagalpur) It was east of Hiranyaparvata 300 li along *the southern bank of the Ganges Nothing is said about its political status* But Aṅga the capital of which was Champā was from the time of Bimbisara included in Magadha Therefore it is certain that even in the 7th century it was politically a part of the kingdom of Magadha As Harsavardhana was the sovereign of Magadha, so Champa must have been included in his empire

4 Kajangala (Rajmahal) From Champa 400 li east, was the kingdom of Kajangala which has been indentified with Rajmahal district in Santhal Pargana in Bihar (Watters II pp 183 84) The pilgrim observes that '*the native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the time* of the pilgrim s visit and the country had come under a neighbouring state So the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages Hence when king Śiladitya in his progress to East India held his court here, he cut grass to make huts and burned these when leaving' (Watters II p 1 3) We are told in the *Life* that Śiladityaraja returning from his attack on Kongodha heard that Yuan Chwang was staying with the king of Kamarupa Harsa sent a messenger to Kamarupa to bring the pilgrim and he stayed at Kajangala The facts that Śiladitya held his court there to receive Yuan Chwang and Bhaskaravarman certainly prove that Kājangala was in the sphere of Harsa s influence Majumdar things that Harṣa passed through Kajangala and had only a temporary residence (there) built of

Harṣa died in the last months of 646 or early part of 647 A D. After his death the empire, and with it the large amount of unity of Northern India, that he had so laboriously built up, collapsed An idea of the confusion and anarchy that set in immediately after the exit of his powerful personality is obtained from the Chinese Annals We have already seen that Harṣa had sent a mission to China in 641 A D and the envoy returned with a Chinsses mission in 643 A D Another Chinese

branches and boughs which was burnt on his departure (JBORS IX pp 311 ff) In another place the learned scholar observes 'Could anybody believe that the pilgrim who took care to record a temporary residence of king Śīlāditya would have used almost in the same breath the expression, 'neighbouring state' to denote the dominion of Harsa? (I H Q V p 234) It may be pointed out that it is possible that the pilgrim's reference to the fact that 'the country had come under that neighbouring kingdom' may refer to an earlier period, 'some centuries before the visit of the pilgrim,' and Yuan Chwang only referred to it because it had brought about havoc among the people and led to the desertion of the capital It has been rightly pointed out that the custom of constructing temporary residences in the course of a visit to the different parts of the empire by the sovereign was in vogue in the time of the pilgrim Moreover the fact that Harṣa passed through the country unopposed and later on stayed there on his return from the Kongodha campaign certainly proves that Kājangala was under Harṣa's control It is quite possible that the neighbouring king was Harṣa or his vassal king of Magadha A vassal king is mentioned by the pilgrim Yuan Chwang mentions the king of Mātipur, who was of Śudra caste and did not believe in Buddhism (Watters II p 322) The kingdom of Mātipur which was on the eastern bank of the Ganges, must have been included in the empire of Harsa

5 Oḍra (Orissa) From the *Life* we know that from Tāmralipti going south west, the pilgrim came to Oḍra It has been identified with Orissa It should be identified with Northern Orissa No king of this country is mentioned But there are certain incidental hints which are therefore more important and reliable that suggest that Northern Orissa was under Harṣa's suzerainty In the *Life* (p 154) we are told that Śīladityaraja assigned to Jayasena the Buddhist scholar, revenues of eighty large towns of Orissa From this the only reasonable conclusion is that some parts of Orissa, at least, were under Harṣa At another place in the same work (pp 159-61) we learn that after returning from the subjugation of Kongodha Haṣra came to Orissa. There he was met by Kapalika priests who were not pleased with the report of Harṣa's building a brass *vihara* in Nalandā, and so asked him But why did your majesty construct a Kapālika temple or some other building of that sort? They requested the king to call a conference to investigate the matter and come to the truth Harsa promised to do so, and we know that he called such a conference at Kanauj This incident together with the Kapalikas anxiety to secure the patronage of Harṣa, certainly, suggests that Orissa was under him This is also quite consistent with the known facts of history We know from the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka that Utkala was under his sovereignty It is natural that after the death of Śaśanka, when Harsa conquered Bengal he also claimed North Orissa and exercised his authority there

mission arrived in India immediately after the death of Harsa and it was attacked by Arjuna, who had usurped supreme power With the help of the army of Tibet, aided by Kumāra, the king of Eastern India (Bhāskaravarman) and the king of Nepal, *the Chinese envoy returned*, defeated *Arjuna*, and took him prisoner It is possible that Tirhut or North Bihar passed under Tibetan suzerainty for some time The death of Harsa gave a god-sent opportunity to Bhaskaravarman to attack and incorporate the Bengal empire of Harsa and the territories of his rival Śaśānka The Nidhānpur copper plates of Bhaskara-

5 Kongodha (Ganjam)—From Udra (Orissa), 1200 li south west, the *pilgrim came to Kongodha identified with Ganjam* Yuan *Chwang, who* visited Ganjam in 639 A D, says 'The country contained some tens of thousands of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army *which kept the neighbouring countries in awe and so there was no power*ful enemy (Watters II pp 196-97) This suggests that when the pilgrim visited the country, it was independent and powerful, though the king is not mentioned Watters' inference that at the time of the pilgrim's visit, the country had been *invaded by Śilādityarāja (Watters II pp 197-98)*, is not corroborated by the *Life* Nothing about Harsa's expedition into Ganjam is said at the time of the pilgrim's visit there (The *Life* p 134) It was about three years later that the invasion is referred to Yuan Chwang returned *to Nalanda in the middle of 642 A D (C A G I p 648) It* was when he was in Nalanda that Harṣa wrote a letter to Śilabhadra from Orissa where he had returned 'after the subjugation of Kongodha' (C A G I pp 159 60) But the pilgrim went to Kamarupa, and when Harṣa 'returning *from his attack on Kongodha heard that the Master of* the Law was staying with Kumara' he exchanged hot words with Bhaskaravarman and waited at Kajangala (Rājmahal) to receive the pilgrim This makes it clear that Harsa's expedition to Ganjam could not be far removed *from 642 3 A. D This expedition might have been actuated* by political and military exigencies From the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II we know that the Kalingas were humbled by him (E I VI pp 1 ff) Kalinga was south of Ganjam, and therefore the advance of the Western *Chalukyas to the east coast must have alarmed the* ruling dynasty of Kongodha We have already seen that Madhavaraja II declared his independence after the death of Śaśanka It was probably he or his successor who commanded the powerful army referred to by the Chinese pil*grim during his visit to Kongodha Harsa may have invaded Ganjam* against a Chalukya claim or he may have come to the aid of the local ruler We know that during Yuan Chwang's visit to Mahārāṣtra. 'The great king Śiladityaraja at this time was invading east and west and countries far and *near were giving in allegiance to him but Mo ha la ch a refused* to become subject to him' (Watters II p 239) Beal translates the relevant passage slightly differently "At the present time Śiladityaraja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but *the people of this country alone have not submitted to him He has* gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all the countries and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these peoples, but he has not yet conquered their troops' (The *Records* II

varman were issued from the victorious camp of Karnasuvarna.[1] The inscription clearly proves that at the time of issue Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Karnasuvarṇa, and it was not a mere halting place, as suggested by Basak.[2] We have already shown that after the death of Śaśānka his empire in Bengal passed to Harsa, Therefore it appears certain that Bhāskaravarman came into possession of Central Bengal after the death of Harsa in 646-47 A D.. He may have also made himself master of Northern Bengal (Pundravardhana), as we find him helping the victorious Tibetan army with men and materials[3] This could have been forced on him by his control over Northern Bengal, the ancient Pundravardhana-bhukti, whose boundary touched the Himālayas on the north and Tirhut in the west, both of which had come under the sway of Tibetan imperialism.

It was in such critical times that the later Gupta dynasty again came into real power in Magadha, and gradually again united a large part of Northern India. The story of the political regeneration of Magadha belongs to a different chapter.

pp. 256 57). It appears, therefore, that even after the first defeat inflicted upon Harṣa by Pulakeśi some time before 634 A D, the two powerful personalities faced one another, probably in a different theatre However, it is certain that Harṣa led an *expedition* into Ganjam between 641-43 A D. But without any corroborative evidence it is risky to believe that Kongodha formed an integral part of Harṣa's empire Even in the *Life* at one place the word 'subjugation' is used and at another 'attack' In view of this it may be safe to agree with Majumdar that the invasion of Ganjām was of the nature of a mere military raid for some purpose we are not in a position to know definitely.

1 E I XII pp. 65 ff
2 H N, E I pp 228-29
3 HBR. I. p 92, I. A. IX pp. 19 20.

CHAPTER X.

MAGADHA UNDER THE RESTORED LATER GUPTAS *FROM Cir.* 647-725 A D

After a period of prolonged political subjugation for more than half a century, Magadha reasserted its traditional claim of empire-building in Northern India under its rejuvenated and restored dynasty of the later Guptas Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of Mahāsenagupta, had taken refuge with their cou in Prabhakaravardhana of Thāneśvara after the misfortunes suffered by their father at the hands of the Maukharis and the Kalachuris Kumāragupta waited on Rajyavardhana and Madhavagupta on Harṣa. Kumāragupta had followed Rajyavardhana in the latter's campaign against the Hūnas Both had returned to Thāneśvara on hearing of Prabhakaravardhana's death, and Rajyavardhana's favourite wept with him[1] We do not know what happened to Kumāragupta, unless in the statement that 'Kumāra was crowned by Harṣa'[2] we have a ref-rence to Kumaragupta's formal coronation by Harṣa. The learned translators of the Harṣacharita see a reference to Kumāra or Kumāragupta in the passage wherein it is stated that "In him the 'man of might' has loosened a king from a circling trunk and abandoned an elephant "[3] But it is more plausible that Kumara died in some of the later campaigns of Rajyavardhana The coronation of Kumara (a prince) may suggest Madhavagupta, who was certainly a Kumara before his accession to the throne of Magadha The passage may thus point to the fact of Harṣa's formally investing his favourite Madhavagupta with the sovereignty of Magadha[4]

1 H C Text (Parab), p 177 '*Rajaballabhena*'
2 *Ibid* p 91
3 H C (*CT*) I p 76, note 3
4 H C Text (Parab), p 91, TK p 105 note 1.

Whatever may be the actual fact, it appears to be fairly certain that Kumaragupta did not succeed to the throne of Magadha and Madhavagupta is mentioned in the Aphsad inscription as succeeding Mahasenagupta [1]

Madhavagupta

In the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to fix the precise date of the accession of Madhavagupta on the throne of Magadha In the early years of his life, he enjoyed the company of Harṣa He had accompanied Harṣa in the latter's quest of Rajyaśrī in the Vindhyan region [2] Even when Harṣa was on the throne, his favourite was at his side This is noticed by Bana when he came to the court of Harṣa for the first time [3] This association with Harṣa was desired by Madhavagupta even when the latter was on the throne Magadha [4] We have seen that Śaśanka held Magadha down to the end of his life He was followed by Purnavarman on the throne of Magadha In 641 A D Harṣa is described as 'king of Magadha' in the Chinese records [5] Madhavagupta may have been put in charge of Magadha by Harṣa even before 641 A D and may have acquiesced in his overlord assuming the title of 'the king of Magadha' On the other hand it is equally plausible that Madhavagupta might have been formally installed on the throne of Magadha by Harṣa after 641 A D However, one thing is obvious namely that Madhavagupta remained subordinate to Harṣa till the latter's death The scribe by noting that Madhavagupta 'was guided by the desire to associate with Harṣadeva (Harsavardhana)' confirms the point [6]

After the death of Harṣavardhana in the last months of 646 A D or the early part of 647 A D, chaos and confusion descended on the green plains of Northern India The withdra-

3 C I I III no 42 pp 200 ff
4 H C (CT) p 235
5 H C Text (Parab) p 79 *Malava ajasuno*
1 C I I III No 42 pp 200 ff
2 Watters I p 343 I A IX p 19
3 C I I III pp 200 ff

wal of the strong hand led to the usual spectacles of usurpation of the throne, defection of subject provinces and the menace of foreign invasion. The unity of Northern India was broken, and every power, large or small, began to entertain competitive ambitions, which weakened the country and encouraged the foreigners. Arjuna or Aruṇāśva is said to have usurped 'supreme power.'[1] Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa conquered Bengal.[2] The army of Tibet, helped by Nepal,[3] invaded India. In this confused state of affairs, pregnant with great possibilities *for bold men, it is obvious that* Mādhavagupta *must have* thrown off the yoke of vassalage and declared himself an independent king. He is described as having a 'chakra' in the palm of his hand.'[4] *This is a* poetic way of describing *him as 'chakravartin'*. "The word *'chakravartin'* denotes an universal ruler, and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereignty."[5] The Aphsaḍ inscription of his son Ādityasena eulogizes *him* as 'killing his enemies in battie.'[6] Giving due allowance to the panegyrics implicit in such inscriptions, the reference to the wars and victories in battle may suggest that Mādhavagupta had accompanied Harṣa in his wars and claimed the credit of some of the victories, like many other feudatories accompanying their overlords on military campaigns. It is also possible the Mādhavagupta might have had to encounter some opposition from different quarters before he could declare himself an independent ruler. He might have successfully resisted the usurper Arjuna, who is reported to have 'forced neigbouring kings into submission.'[7]

Did Mādhavagupta come into conflict with Bhāskaravarman and Tibet? Some scuffle between Bhāskaravarman, who inherited the Gauḍa empire of Harṣa, and Mādhavagupta, who

1. I. A. IX. p. 20.
2. E. I, XII, pp. 65 ff.
3. I. A. IX. p. 20.
4. C. I. I. III. pp. 200 ff.
5. *Ibid.* p. 18. note 4.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 200 ff.
7. I. A. IX. p. 20.

claimed to be independent ruler of Magadha, is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility. An encounter with the Tibetans is also plausible. From Ma-twan-lin[1] we learn that the Chinese emperor sent Wang-hiwen-tse under the title of Yen-wai-so-tu-chang-si to the kingdom of Magadha in 646 A. D But before the mission could reach its destination, Harşavardhana Śilāditya was dead, and the kingdom had fallen into a state of anarchy. It is further related that one of the ministers named Arjuna or Arunāśva (A-lan-na-shun) usurped the supreme power and attacked the Chinese mission. Wang-hiwen-tse escaped to Tibet. The Tibetan army, aided by Nepal and the king of Eastern India (Kāmarūpa) defeated Arjuna, stormed his capital Ta-po-no-la (Chapra or Champaran) and captured Arjuna, who was taken to China. Tibet's debut in Indian politics is known from the Chinese and Tibetan sources. Sroṅ-btsan-sgampo, the king of Tibet, was born in 569 A. D.[2] He was the greatest king of the country and had forced the king of China to give him his daughter in marriage.[3] He also married the daughter of king Amśuvarman of Nepal.[4] It has been proved by Jayasval that Nepal became subject to Tibet in about 643 A. D.[5] That explains Nepal's help to the Tibetan army against India. According to the Chinese sources, the Tibetan army attacked T'ienchu and inflicted a great defeat. Chung-T'ienchu meant Central India or Magadha.[6] We are informed that "the king of Tu-fan (Tibet) led 1200 well armed warriors together with over 7000 Nepal horsemen to follow Yuantse. He and the assistant envoy Chang Sbihjen led the troops of the two countries and advanced as far as the capital of Central India, where they fought for three days in succession and inflicted a great defeat on Arjuna, cutting off 3000 heads,

1. *Ibid*
2. A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh by Dr. Luciano Petech (Supplement, IHQ XV. pp 39 ff)
3. JRAS 1880 pp. 438 ff.
4. *Op. cit.*; IHQ. XV.
5. JBORS. XXII. pp 161 ff
6. JRAS. 1880. pp. 446, 528.

while some 10,000 were drowned in the river, the minister was taken (prisoner) and brought with them to the imperial capital, where they arrived in 648 A.D"[1] The allied army, besides storming the capital city of Arjuna, obtained the submission of 580 walled towns of India[2] Śrī Kumara of Eastern India sent him (yuan-tse) thirty thousand horses, oxen and provision for *the victorious army.*[3] *It appears that Bhaskaravarman* purchased peace, which facilitated his conquest and consolidation of Northern and Central Bengal, after the death of Harṣavardhana "During the lifetime of Sron-btsan sgampo all the kingdoms on the frontiers were united under his rule, and every one of the little kings sent presents and letters"[4] But the story of Tibet's conquest of Central India or Magadha, to say the *least, is doubtful The Indian sources are absolutely silent on* this, and the Chinese or Tibetan sources are not clear whether the Tibetan army actually invaded Magadha or returned after punishing Arjuna, presumably in North Bihar We do not know the basis of Sir R C Temple's conclusion that "at this period the Tibetan rule must have spread widely northward into Asia and southward into Bengal, as is shown by the Chi*nese annals, though the Indian records are silent on the* subject"[5] It is also to be borne in mind that the Chines records are used to exaggrate the importance of events in their favour without any solid basis Harsa's sending of a mission to China and his receiving of a Chinese mission to his court have been interpreted in the Chinese records to suggest his vassalage to the emperor of China Therefore the Chinese story about the success of the Chinese envoy, aided by the Tibetan and Nepalese armies, has to be taken with caution. A minor victory over a petty ruler of North Bihar may have been coloured out of all due proportion, and the submission of the

1 JRAS 1880 p 528
2 E H I p 367, HBR I p 92
3 I A IX p 20
4 *Antiquities of Tibet* Vol II p 82
5 I A 1916 p 39

whole of Central India or Magadha was believed It is no doubt true that the Chinese mission of Wang hiwen-tse was sent to Magadha in return for the mission sent by Harsa to China, but it is not definite that the incidents referred to above took place there '[1] Out of the maze of exaggerated accounts, often differing in details, about the activities of the Tibetan army in India according to the Chinese and Tibetan sources, the fact that can be discerned is that after the death of Harsa confusion set in throughout the empire, as Harsa appears to have left no son to succeed him and so Arjuna, who may have been of the ministerial rank, but in charge of Tirabhukti (North Bihar), claimed imperial status and forced neighbouring provinces to submit to him Bhaskaravarman conquered Central and Northern Bengal, and Madhavagupta declared himself independent The latter must have resisted, rather successfully, the pretensions of Arjuna This might have been one of the causes why Arjuna fell upon the Chinese mission The mission was going to Magadha, and at that time Madhava gupta was on the throne of Magadha Arjuna might have seen that the successful arrival of the mission would raise the prestige of Magadha in the eyes of the people at home and abroad, and, therefore, he attacked the mission and thus destroyed any chances of its success But Arjuna had miscalculated that the mission had no friend, powerful enough to vindicate its position and avenge its humiliation Arjuna's assault brought about the invasion of his kingdom by the Tibetan army and, more than that, it whetted the appetite of the growing Tibetan imperialism under the great king Sron-btsan sgampo With the aid of his vassal Nepal, the king of Tibet swooped down upon North Bihar (modern Tirhut), the kingdom of Arjuna, and stormed his capital and also other towns of the kingdom Arjuna was captured, and it is quite possible that Tirhut was brought under Tibetan imperialism. Nepal was already under Tibetan overlordship since 643 A D Bhāskaravarman of Kama-

1 H B R I p 92, note 1,

rūpa wisely saw the advantages of winning peace and friendship, and, therefore, sent men and materials to the victorious allied army. Possibly the conquest of Tirabhukti, which lay in Central India (Madhyadeśa), was boastfully represented as the conquest of Central India by the Tibetan army[1] Magadha under the wise leadership of Madhavagupta kept itself aloof from these events, as time and peace were needed to rejuvenate the emaciated country Thus the reason why Madhavagupta and even Ādityasena in his early years of rule did not assume imperial and paramount titles may well have been due to their wish to avoid calling the attention of powerful neighbours by seeming presumption and thus jeopardising the consolidation of their kingdom, menaced as it was by Kamarupa under Bhāskaravarman on the East and the Tibetan empire on the North

Ādityasena

Madhavagupta was succeeded by his son Ādityasena, born of Śrimatidevi[2] in *cir* 650 A D In his Aphsad inscription he is described as '*kṣitisachudamani*' and '*lokapala*,' 'the guardian of the world by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth is covered '[3] This shows that he was a powerful king He is given the unassuming title of 'Sri' or 'the fortunate' in the Aphsad[4] and Shahpur[5] inscriptions, the latter is dated in the year 66, presumably in Harṣa era and therefore equivalent to 672 73 A D But in the two rock inscriptions on the Mandara Hill, belonging to the period of Ādityasena, he is given full imperial titles such as '*Paramabhaṭṭaraka Maharajadhiraja Śrī Ādityasenadeva*,' and his queen is described as '*Paramabhattarika-Rajñi Mahadevi Konadevi*,'[6]—the titles which are those of the

1 H B R I p 93
2 C I I III No 42 pp 200 ff
3 *Ibid*
4 *Ibid*
5 *Ibid* No 43 pp 208 ff
6 *Ibid* No 44 and 45 pp 211 ff

wives of paramount sovereigns[1]. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Ādityasena was a paramount and imperial sovereign.

The question that arises is whether the non-mention of the paramount and imperial titles for Ādityasena in his Aphsad and Shāhpur inscriptions indicates that he enjoyed a subordinate status for some time? The fact that imperial titles are omitted in some inscriptions and mentioned in some others of the same period and of the same king, raises some suspicion. Fleet[2] hinted that it was probably after the death of Harṣa that Ādityasena assumed these titles. But Harṣa died in 646 or 647 A. D., and even in the inscription of 672-73 A. D. there is no mention of any imperial titles for Ādityasena. Some scholars have suggested that the kings of Kāmarūpa exercised overlordship over Magadha and Ādityasena was a vassal king at least up to 672-73 A. D. According to N. N. Das Gupta "the significance of the Nālandā seal of Bhāskaravarman seems to be much greater than it is ordinarily supposed to bear."[3] According to the learned scholar, Devavarman of I'-Tsing's *Records* was a king of Kāmarūpa, probably a lineal descendant of Bhāskaravarman.[4] Barua re-enforces this suggestion with his usual emphasis, and holds that "After Śrī Harṣa's death, (the twenty villages of) Magadha came into the possession of Bhāskaravarman, the king of Eastern India,"[5] and "even after Bhāskaravarman, at least the eastern part of Magadha with perhaps the whole of modern Bengal excepting probably Samataṭa was under the overlordship of Kāmarūpa."[6] He further observes that "this supremacy lasted for at least 100 years till the overthrow of the Kāmarūpa king Harṣavarmadeva."[7] The learned scholar at another place remarks that "the fact, which can

hardly be contested, is that the successors of Bhāskaravarman *down to at least Harṣavarmadeva held all their possessions in* Bihar and Bengal."[1] But there is no adequate basis for holding that the Kāmarūpa kings held sway over Magadha for more than a century. It is definitely known that Ādityasena assumed paramount and imperial titles, certainly after 672-73 A. D., and the inscriptions mentioning these titles are found on the Mandāra Hill in the Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district in East Bihar.[2] This makes it clear that Ādityasena was the ruler of Bihar up to its eastern limit; the plea for the rule of Kāmarūpa kings on the eastern part of Magadha thus fails miserably. The presence of the seal of Bhāskaravarman in Nālandā[3] may be explained better by believing that it accompanied some of the correspondence which the Kāmarūpa king is known to have carried on with the authorities of Nālandā over the issue of the Chinese pilgrim. We do not know of any Kāmarūpa king of the name of Devavarman. From the known history of Kāmarūpa it appears that "after the death of Bhāskaravarman, his dynasty was overthrown by a barbarian Śālastambha by name, and Kāmarūpa passed under Mlechchha rule."[4] Devavarman of I'-Tsing cannot be identified with a supposed king of Kāmarūpa. Thus we find that there is no ground for holding that Ādityasena was a vassal of Kāmarūpa kings. It is also very difficult to persuade ourselves to believe in the Tibetan conquest of Magadha and to make Ādityasena a feudatory of Tibetan empire. Jayasval's suggestion, that Mādhavagupta or Ādityasena accepted the suzerainty of the Valabhi king Dharasena IV, can hardly be a subject of serious consideration. He relies on the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, which cannot be accepted without any corroborative evidence. Moreover it is hardly fair to identify the 'Dha-kāra' with Dharasena.[5] The long discussion above leads to the only safe conclusion,

1. JARS I. pp. 97 ff
2. C. I. I. III Nos. 44 & 45. p. 211 ff.
3. JBORS VI. pp. 151 ff
4. Ancient Indian History and Civilisation, p. 348.
5. I. H. I. pp. 66-68.

that there is no adequate ground, except suspicion, to believe in the conquest of Magadha by a foreign power or by any other power of India After the death of Harsavardhana, Magadha became independent under Madhavagupta, and Ādityasena remained an independent king The epithet 'śri' applied to Ādityasena in his inscriptions does not necessarily mean that he was a subordinate king, though it has to be admitted that in comparison to titles like '*Paramabhaṭṭaraka Maharajadhiraja*' it is unassuming and innocuous We think that actually Mādhavagupta and Ādityasena up to at least 672 73 A D. were mere local, though independent kings of Magadha, and it was probably after that date that Ādityasena began to extend the sphere of his influence and ultimately assumed imperial and paramount titles befitting his improved position

The mention of the high sounding imperial titles of Ādityasena in the Mandara-Hill rock inscriptions may have been accidental or a formality without suggesting any change in his political status. But, if an explanation for the improvement in his titles must be sought, it is to be found in the political condition of Northern India at that time After the death of Harsa, while the centrifugal forces in India had their full play, a powerful imperialism had established itself in the north of India, in Tibet The triumphant Tibetan imperialism overawed China, reduced Nepal to subjection, and raided North Bihar. It may or may not be possible that the Tibetan army reached Magadha But it is obvious that Magadha must have been influenced by the emergence of this new menace On the eastern frontier of Magadha, Bhaskaravarman was extending his influence and had brought Northern, Central and a large part of Western Bengal under his rule In such troubled times, when the future was not clear, Madhavagupta and his son Ādityasena wisely refrained from indulging in imperial hysteria. They were content with their unambitious role and unassuming titles so as to avoid being plunged into the fire of power politics of Great Powers They concentrated, for the time being, upon consolidation of their power in Magadha, which needed time

and peace to repair the moral and material damages wrought by a prolonged period of subjection When the Indian horizon became clearer, when the dynasty of Bhāskaravarman was overthrown by the Mlechchha ruler Śalastambha, and when Tibet fell on evil days, following hostile relations with China, then Ādityasena realised that the time had come for the rejuvenated and rehabilitated Magadhas to reassert successfully their claim to become the paramount power of Northern India The prospect of another *All* Northern India empire with Magadha as the centre was bright, and Ādityasena emerged as the rightful heir to the imperial heritage of his great predecessors. It was then only that he could legitimately assume the imperial titles like '*Paramabhaṭṭaraka Maharajadhiraja*,' in the Mandara Hill rock inscriptions, evidently after 672-73 A D, when he was described by the simple epithet '*śri*' in the Shāhpur stone image inscription [1]

Ādityasena was a powerful king, ruling over a fairly extensive kingdom His inscriptions have been found at Aphsad (a village, 15 miles north-east of Nawada in Gaya district),[2] at Shahpur (19 miles south east of Bihar),[3] and on Mandāragiri (7 miles south east of Banka, the chief town of Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district).[4] It is clear therefore that ancient Magadha and Anga—that is, modern South Bihar—certainly formed an integral part of Ādityasena's kingdom In an inscription from Nepal of the time of Jayadeva, Ādityasena is referred to as 'great' and 'king of Magadha' '*Magadhadhipasya mahatah śri Ādityasenasya*'[5] He is certainly the later Gupta king of the same name This confirms the opinion of Fleet that Magadha was the centre of the later Gupta dynasty

The assumption of imperial and paramount titles in the later years of his reign must have followed the conclusion of

1 C I I III No 43 pp 208 ff K. S Aiyangar (J I H V pp 313 ff) is obviously wrong in stating that the inscription of 672 73 A D gives him paramount titles
2 C I I III No 42 pp 200 ff
3 *Ibid* No 43 pp 208 ff
4 *Ibid* pp 211 ff
5 I A IX pp 178 ff

some victorious campaigns, and addition of new conquests to the kingdom. On the door of the Vaidyanātha-Temple in Deoghar, there is a Vaisnava inscription which was brought there from the Mandara Hill [1] The late Dr. R Mitra thought that the alphabet was *Maithili in character* [2] *In the opinion* of Fleet, the inscription could not be earlier than the 16th century A D [3] According to Marshall, "the inscription is written in Bengali characters of perhaps 300 years ago" [4] From it we learn that "the king Ādityasena of renowned prowess___the ruler of the (whole) earth up to the shores of the oceans, the performer of the aśvamedha and other great sacrifices___in the *krita* age_arrived with his queen Kośadevi from the Chola city, (and) having sacrificed with three asvamedha sacrifices, he *with his consort, the glorious Kośadevi, caused to be made* the whole of the famous work (*kirtti*), and made an establishment of (the god) Nṛihari A Boar (i e the image of the god Viṣnu in that form) has been set up by Balabhadra _Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri" [5] There is no doubt that the king Ādityasena of the inscription is the later Gupta king of the same name, and the allusion to him as belonging to the *Krita* age confirms that the inscription was engraved much later than his time The name of Ādityasena's wife as Kośadevi, instead of Konadevi, the correct form as we know from the contemporary inscriptions, "is to be explained by the usual inability of the people, then or now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription." [6] The mention of the famous work (*kirtti*) constructed by Ādityasena's wife confirms the identification Two inscriptions, found on the Mandāragiri Hill near the Papaharani Tank, [7] refer to the excavation of the

1 C I I III pp 213 14 (note)
2 JASB LII (part I) pp 190 91.
3 C I I III p 214 (note)
4. ASIAR 1902 3 p. 230
5 C I I III p 213 (note)
6 *Ibid* p 214 (note)
7 *Ibid*, Nos 44 & 45 pp 211 ff "The position of the inscription no 45 seems to be not now known at all" But it is obvious that it could not have been far away from the Tank

tank by *'Paramabhaṭṭārikā-Rājñī-Mahādevīśrī-Koṇadevī,'* wife of *'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Ādityasenadeva.'* There is no doubt that this very *kīrtti* is referred to in the Vaidyanāthadhāma inscription. The scribe of the later inscription must have seen the inscriptions of Ādityasena on the Mandāra Hill. According to Bloch, 'the last *Sloka* referring to Balabhadra is actually found in characters of about the same time as Ādityasena's on the top of the Mandāra Hill close to the modern Jaina temple, which stands there."[1] The Deoghar inscription was therefore certainly based on Ādityasena's inscriptions. But in the Deoghar inscription Ādityasena and his wife are referred to as having come from the Chola city with vast wealth. We have nothing at all to connect the Gupta king Ādityasena with a city so far south as the *'Cholapuram.'* It may give an idea that his authority or influence extended up to the Chola city. But such an assumption, to say the least, would be 'unsafe,' and Aiyangar suggested that there might have been an error in transcription.[2] It may be possible that Ādityasena had gone to the south on a pilgrimage to the sacred places there and might have received vast presents as a matter of courtesy from different rulers of the country. Bloch has a good suggestion to offer. He observes that "the statement that Ādityasena was a native of the Chola country deserves no credit whatsoever." According to the learned scholar, the scribe mixed up different traditions in the same epigraph, the tradition of Ādityasena being known as a great king of Magadha, or rather of Northern India, and the common tradition prevalent locally and noted by Buchanan about a Chola king suffering from leprosy and getting cured after taking a bath in the Tank. *The scribe knew the traditions and had also noticed* the inscriptions of Ādityasena on the Mandāra Hill, and he mixed them up and made Ādityasena come from the Chola city. As the *Liṅga* of Vaidyanātha also enjoys the ancient fame of

1. ASIAR. 1902-3. p. 230.
2. JIH. V. pp. 343 ff.

the Papaharani Tank in curing leprosy, "an inscription purporting to be a history of the Mandara Hill was placed near the entrance to the temple of Vaidyanatha'[1]

The Deoghar inscription is much later than the time of Ādityasena, but there is no doubt that it plainly contains 'a memorial of the great Ādityasena of Magadha'[2] Majumdar takes the inscription to be 'too conventional to be regarded seriously'[3] We are alive to the fact that the scribes sing the praise of their patrons in exaggerated terms But the inscription under review is not by a court poet It belongs to a period when there could hardly be any earthly reason to praise Ādityasena to the skies The only reasonable explanation appears to be that Ādityasena was a great king and his achievements were remembered down to much later days Only great and remarkable men leave an undying impression on successive generations There is nothing in the record which must be regarded as impossible for achievement by Ādityasena If Madhavavarman I of the Visnukundin family could perform eleven horse-sacrifices, Ādityasena may have performed more than one It is known from his inscriptions that he assumed imperial titles The assumption of such titles and the performance of horse sacrifices must have followed some conquests Basak's[4] supposition that Ādityasena's kingdom extended up to Vanga in the east may not be correct, but it is very possible that Central and South Western Bengal, including the sea-coast, were a part of his kingdom The Aphsad inscription was composed or engraved by Sukṣmaśiva of the Gauda country[5] According to the Vaidyanathadhama Temple inscription Ādityasena ruled up to the shores of the ocean[6]

An inscription has been found in Dudhpani in the Hazari-

1 ASIAR 1902-3 p 230
2 C I I III p 214 (note)
3 HBR I. pp 81-2 (note 7)
4 HNEI p 128
5 C I I III No 42 pp 200 ff.
6 *Ibid* pp 213 14 (note)

bāgh district[1] Unfortunately no facsimile of it has been published The only source is a rubbing of it by Cunningham The characters may be assigned 'to the end of the eighth century'[2] It mentions one Ādi Simha, king of Magadha 'in former days' We are told that three brothers whose names ended in 'māna' went to Tamraliptı from Ayodhya, and after amassing much wealth they tarried at one of the villages—Bhramaraśalmali, Chhingalā and Nalihutiśandalla Ādisimha came to a forest near the villages on a hunting expedition, and was pleased to grant the villages to Udayamana, who was hailed as their lord by the people of the locality We do not know of any other king except Ādityasena whose name even remotely res-mbles Ādisimha. In the inscription under review Ādisimha is compared to Jarasandha, one of the mighty kings of Magadha in the days of yore Ādityasena was a powerful king of Magadha, and therefore we suggest that Ādisimha of the Dudhpani inscription should be identified with Ādityasena of the Gupta dynasty The palaeography is not against this identification, as in an inscription of the end of the eighth century, Ādityasena could be easily referred to as belonging to 'former days' If the identification proposed is accepted, then the southern limits of his kingdom must have extended to the Chota Nagpur Hills

Having made himself the master of the central Gangetic valley, it was natural for Ādityasena to try to extend towards the west into the upper valley of the Ganges His empire certainly included large parts of what is today called the Uttara Pradesh of Agra and Oudh The D-o Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II[4] was issued from the fort near Gomatikottaka This place must be looked for along the river Gomati, which,

1 E I II pp 343 ff
2 *Ibid*
3 It may not be surprising that in the facsimile of the inscription there is Ādityasena instead of Ādisimha In the epigraphy of the period simha and sena may be confused P L Paul (IHQ XI pp 70 ff) identified Ādisimha with Ādiśura of Kulaśastra of Vaidik Brahmaṇas
4 C I I III No 46 pp 213 ff

rising in Shahjahanpur district of Western U P, passes Lucknow and Jaunpur and falls into the Ganges about halfway between Banaras and Ghajipur, and about 85 miles west of Deo-Baranārk"[1] Therefore this inscription makes it clear that the district of Shahabad and large parts of the Uttara Pradesh were included in the empire of the later Guptas It is very likely that it was Ādityasena, the first Gupta king to assume imperial titles and to perform horse-sacrifices, who represented this urge of expansion towards the west

In connection with the westward expansion of Ādityasena's kingdom it may be useful to examine the relevant account of I'-Tsing He refers to the travels of Hwui lun, a Corean, who came by the 'northern route,' following Hiuen Chiu, who had returned to Kasmir in 664 A D and later on came back and met I-'Tsing in Nalandā[2] "Passing through the eastern frontiers and thence *proceeding northward, he (Hwui lun) came to* Tu ho lo (Tukhāra) Temple This temple was originally built by the Tukhāra people for their own priests The establishment is called Gandhārasanda To the west is the Kapiśā Temple. The priests of this establishment study the Little Vehicle Priests from the north also dwell here The temple is called Gunacharita Two stages to the east of the Mahābodhi is a temple called Kiu-lu kia It was built long ago by a king of the Kiu-lu kia country, a southern kingdom (Kurukṣetra) ...Recently a king called Sun-army (Ādityasena) built by the side of the old temple another which is now newly finished. Priests from the south occupy this temple. About forty stages east of this, following the course of the Ganges, is the Deer Temple, and not far from this is a ruined establishment, with only its foundations remaining, called the China Temple Tradition says that formerly a Mahāraja called Śrī Gupta built this temple for the use of the Chinese priests"[3] Scholars have generally identified this Mahābodhi with the Bodhgaya

1 *Ibid*
2 The *Life* p XXVIII
3 *Ibid* p XXXVI

Temple in Magadha. Allan placed the China Temple built by Śrī Gupta in Magadha.[1] Recently Ganguli, believing that according to I-'Tsing the Mṛigaśikhāvana-Temple existed 40 stages east of Nālandā, placed it in the Murshidabad district of Bengal.[2] Majumdar[3] has reinforced this suggestion by pointing out that in an illustrated Cambridge Ms. (Add. 1643) dated in 1015 A. D., there is a picture of a *stūpa* with the lable 'Mṛigasthāpana Stūpa of Varendra,' which is probably the Mṛigaśikhāvana of I-T'sing's records. The learned scholar, therefore, observes that "the Temple of China was near the Mṛigasthāpana Stūpa in Varendra and must have been situated either in Varendra or not far from its boundary, on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā."[4] But there are valid arguments against this conclusion. Beal's translation of I-T'sing's memoirs does not show that the Mṛigaśikhāvana-Temple (Deer Temple) was 40 stages east of Nālandā. Beal notes that "it is doubtful whether the Mahābodhi named here does not refer to the Tu-ho-lo Temple mentioned above."[5] More definite is another translation by Beal himself, where he renders the passage thus, "To the north-east of the great Bodhi (the temple just mentioned), about a couple of stages, is another temple called Chālukya."[6] Thus, it is plain that in the context of Hwui-lun's travels the great Bodhi first mentioned is different from the Mahābodhi-Temple of Gaya, which the traveller mentions later. Probably it was to distinguish between the two temples of the same name, or rather to avoid confusion in the mind of readers, that the traveller while mentioning the first Mahābodhi added the words 'just mentioned' immediately after the mention of the Guṇacharita Temple, and when he came to refer to the Mahābodhi Temple of Gaya he qualified it with

1. CCGDBM. p. XV.
2. IHQ. XIV, pp. 532 ff.
3 HBR. I. p. 69.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The *Life*, p. XXXVI. (note 1).
6. I. A. X. p. 110.

the phrase 'near the Diamond Throne.'[1] Therefore, it should be clear that the first Mahābodhi Temple mentioned by I-T'sing in connection with the account of Hwui-lun was different from the Gaya temple, and should be more plausibly identified with the Tu-ho-lo or Ta-hsio (Great learning) Temple mentioned by the Corean traveller.[2] If we free ourselves from the obsession of identifying the great Bodhi with the Mahābodhi Temple of Gaya, which Hwui-lun described later, it becomes easier to locate the Chālukya[3] and Ādityasena's temples. According to Hwui-lun, "forty stages or so to the *eastward* of this (Ādityasena's temple) we come to the Nālandā Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mṛigaśikhāvana Temple. Not far from this is the China-Temple built by Mahārāja Śrīgupta for the use of the priests for going to Mahābodhi."[4] Beal himself shows some discrepancy in the translation of the passage at another place. In the introduction to the *Life*, he translates the same passage thus, "About forty stages east of this (Ādityasena's temple), following the course of the Ganges, is the Deer Temple, and not far from this is the China-Temple."[5] The same translation occurs at another place.[6] This creates some confusion: whether the Nālandā Temple was forty stages east of Ādityasena's temple or the Mrigaśikhāvana Temple was forty stages east of Ādityasena's temple. It is more likely that what I-T'sing meant was that Hwui-lun was describing the route from Ādityasena's temple to the Nālandā Temple, and in the course of this he first came across the Mrigaśikhāvana Temple. Therefore it was the Nālandā Temple which was forty stages east of Ādityasena's temple. Jagannath has pointed out that

1. The *Life*, intro. pp. XXXVI-XXXVII.
2. *Ibid* XXXVI; I. A. X. p. 110.
3. In the *Life* Beal translates Kiu-lu kia as Kurukṣetra (?) but earlier he took it to be Chālukya (I.A. X. p. 110). It appears to be more correct. Chavannes thought it to mean Kolkai or the Pāṇḍyan capital. (JMU. XIII. p. 168).
4. I. A. X. (1881) p. 110.
5. The *Life*, p. XXXVI.
6. J.R.A S. 1881 p 570.

in the other translation Beal omitted the word 'first' and 'that has created an ambiguity'[1] However, what concerns us is that the temple built by Ādityasena was west of the Mṛigaśikhā- ālanda, and the Mṛigaśikhāvana Temple itself was Nalanda Temple Hwui lun, who is coming from scribes the Tokhara Temple and the Kapiśa Tem- unacharita, also known as the great Bodhi, and itions the temple built by the king of the Chalukya he south. By the side of this was the newly fini- of Ādityasena From there going east, he came nple, near which was the China Temple built nd east of that was the Nalanda Temple, which destination of the traveller. After noting the China- he mentions the Mahābodhi-Temple of Gaya, and after that the Nalanda Temple, which is east of the Mahābodhi-Temple Following the route of Hwui-lun, it is plain that the traveller, while coming from the north west to the south east, found the Mṛigaśikhavana Temple between the Ādityasena's Temple in the west and the Nalandā Temple in the east Near this Mṛigaśikhāvana Temple was the China-Temple Jagannath identifies the Mṛigasikhāvana-Temple with the Deer Park in Sarnath[2] We do not know what exactly the Corean travellet meant by the phrase 'not far from this' when he referred to the China-Temple after the Deer Temple[3] Deer Park (Sarnāth) was twenty or so stages west of Nālandā[4] Ādityasena's temple was forty stages west of Nalanda, as appears from the translation of Beal, then it should have been situated about $228\frac{4}{7}$ miles (one stage $=5\frac{5}{7}$ miles) west of Nalanda, in the Uttara Pradesh[5] It does not by *itself prove that Ādityasena's*

1 I H Q XXII pp 28 ff
2 *Ibid*
3 The *Life* intro p XXXVI
4 *Ibid* p XXXVIII
5 Dr W Simon of the Far East Department of the School of the Oriental Studies read for me the Chinese manuscript of I Tsing's book in India Office (Nanj Cat 1491) and in his opinion Beal's translation in Indian Antiquary Vol X is correct and in the Introduction to the *Life* Beal omitted one full sentence Thus our point that Mṛigaśikhavana lay west of Nalanda is confirmed

rule extended over that part of the country The Ceylonese, the Javanese, the Chālukyas and others built temples for their travellers in Northern India, but that does not necessarily mean that they exercised rule over that part of the country where they built the temples but at the same time, in the political conditions prevailing at that time in Northern India coupled with the testimony of the Deo Baranārk inscription, it is possible that Ādityasena may have extended his influence far west of Magadha into the modern Uttara Pradesh of Agra and Oudh. The suspicion is confirmed by the fact that in the Chālukya records[1] reference is made to an All Northern-India empire, and Raychaudhuri points out that this could refer only to the later Gupta empire of Ādityasena or his successor Devagupta[2] If Jayasval's identification of king 'Śri' of Gaudatantra of the M. M K[3] with Ādityasena is accepted, then his rule certainly extended up to Gauda in the east. According to Basak[4] "the extension of his (Ādityasena's) conquests towards the shores of the ocean," as known from the Vaidyanātha-Temple inscription, "suggests that Bengal, specially Southern Radha and Vanga, might have come under his dominion" Southern Radha might have formed a part of his dominion, but there is no reason for including Vanga (East Bengal) in the empire of Ādityasena

A copper plate grant of King Lokanātha has been found in the district of Tippera.[5] It mentions a Mahāsāmanta Śrinatha and his son Bhavanātha The latter abdicated the throne in favour of his brother's son, whose son was Lokanātha V 7 refers to the fact that a large number of soldiers belonging to the chief sovereign (*Paramesvara*) met with annihilation in a battle Another battle in which Jayatungavarsa seems to have been a party is referred to in V. 8 V. 9 mentions

1 I A VII pp 303 ff *Ibid* IX p 229
2 P H A I (4th Edn) p. 516
3 I H I pp 68-69
4 H N E I pp 128
5 E I XV pp 301 ff,

that a king named Jivadharana made over to Lokanatha his own *visaya* and army without engaging in further battle Basak[1] read the date as the year 44 and referred it to the Harṣa era Later on he modified his earlier opinion and observed that it could be interpreted as the year 344 in the Gupta era, and so equivalent to 663 664 A D[2] It may be significant that the first member of the dynasty, whose name ends in 'natha' is referred to as '*Adhimaharaja*' ('*Maharajadhiraja*'?[3] (or more than a Maharaja)[3] and the succeeding members are given feudatory titles of Samanta or Maharaja Basak[4] conjectured that the title '*Adhimaharaja*' may denote independent status for the early king, and he might have adopted a defiant attitude towards any of the sovereigns mentioned in the Faridpur plates, i e Dharmaditya Gopachandra or Samacharadeva The reference to '*Parameśvara*' in the inscriptions clearly proves that Lokanatha was a feudatory to some overlord In Basak's opinion "it is not unlikely that Lokanatha owed allegiance to Ādityasena, who may have sent an army to help his feudatory against king Jivadharana,'[5] whose simple title of '*nripa* shows that he, too, was a local ruler in Bengal The learned scholar warned us against taking Jayatungavarsa as the overlord of Lokanatha J C Ghosh[6] took the date to be the year 244 in the Gupta era and identified Jivadnarana of the inscription with Jīvitagupta I of the later Gupta dynasty, and Jayatungavarṣa with Varṣa son of Simha, of Taranatha s account Dasaratha Sarma,[7] ignoring the warning of Basak, held Jīvadharana to be the overlord of Lokanatha, read the date of the inscription as 144 Harṣa era, and identified Jivadharana with Jīvitagupta II of the later Gupta dynasty The identification of Jivadharana with Jivitagupta I or II is absolutely gratuitous There

1 E I XV pp 301 ff
2 H N E I pp 195
3 E I XV pp 301 ff
4 H N E I p 196
5 E I XV pp 301 ff
6 I H Q VI pp 564 ff
7 Ibid XI pp 326 ff

is nothing to suggest that the later Guptas also belonged to the *Dharana gotra* as did the imperial Guptas It has been rightly pointed out that, it is not however understood how Jivitagupta first became Jivagupta and then transformed himself into Jivadharana [1] Recently Bhattasali[2] pointed out that the correct date of the inscription is 244, and it should be assigned to the Gupta era He further tells us that Basak has confirmed his revised reading of the date From the recently discovered Kailan plates of Śri Dharana Rata it appears that Jivadharana was the father of Dharana Raṭa Therefore it is likely that Lokanatha and his ancestors were at first feudatories of the Guptas, and later on changed their allegiance to the king of Kamarupa if they ever extended their authority over Tippera district N N Vasu[3] read Jayatungavarma instead of Jayatungavarsa in the line 14 of the copper plate inscription, and takes him to be a successor of Bhaskaravarman king of Kamarupa We may point out that in the facsimile of the plate[4] it is clear that there is no '*ma*' but '*sa*, and so the reading Jayatungavarma cannot stand unless we believe that the scribe made a mistake It may not be out of place to mention that Bloch[5] thought that the characters of the inscription show that it was written in the 9th or 10th century after Christ Sen[6] reads Jayatungadharma for Jayatungavarsa He accepts the earlier reading of Basak about the date i e 44 and takes it to mean the regnal year of the overlord of Lokanatha, and identifies the *Paramesvara* of the inscription with Dharmapala, the second Pala king In view of so many different views on the date and the identification of Jivadharana, Jayatungavarṣa and the *Paramesvara* of the inscription it is hardly safe to rely on it for suggesting that Ādityasena's kingdom extended up to Eastern Bengal Vanga and Samatata were never under

1 J A R S III pp 103
2 I H Q XXII pp 162 ff
3 Social History of Kāmarupa Vol III pp 18 24
4 E I XV plate facing p 308 (line 14)
5 ASIA S 1903 4 pp 120 ff
6 Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal pp 327-334

the rule of the later Guptas It was lost to the imperial Guptas after Vainyagupta During the 7th century, the Khadgas probably ruled over the region It is quite probable that Lokanatha was a feudatory of the Khadga rulers

N N Vasu[1] threw out a suggestion that Ādityasena's authority was acknowledged in Kamarupa This is absolutely unwarranted, and because Ādityasena assumed imperial titles and performed a horse-sacrifice, it is not proved that "as a result the whole of Āryavarta including Kamarupa had to acknowledge his supremacy"[2] As a mattter of fact, we have no positive evidence at all to make the whole of Bengal a part of Ādityasena's empire The testimony of the Ārya manju śrimula kalpa, the Aphsad and Vaidyanathadhama inscriptions enable us to assume that at best Central and South West Bengal bordering on the sea were included in his kingdom That was the eastern limit of his dominion

It is therefore clear that after the death of Harṣa, Ādityasena was the first ruler, who could claim to have established an All-Northern India empire, now with Magadha as the centre His empire included a large part of Northern India extending from the Ganges in the north to the hills of Chota Nagpur in the south, along the river Gomati in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east From a Nepal inscription of king Jayadeva, dated in the year 153, we learn that his father Śivadeva married Vatsadevi, who was the daughter of Bhogavarman, the crest jewel of the illustrious varmans of the valorous Maukhari race,' and grand daughter of the great Śri Ādityasena, lord of Magadha[3] There can be no doubt that this Ādityasena, the lord of Magadha, is Ādityasena of the later Gupta dynasty The inscription thus proves that a matrimonial alliance was concluded between the Maukhari and the later Gupta families—which were hereditary enemies since the time of Iśanavarman and Kumaragupta The record is silent about the status of Bhogavarman,

1 Social History of Kamarupa I p 155.
2 *Ibid*
3 I A IX pp 178 ff

whether he was a king or a prince. But the fact that the great Ādityasena married his daughter to Bhogavarman certainly suggests that the latter must have been a man of considerable importance. The reference to 'valorous Maukhari race,' to which Bhogavarman belonged, suggests that the family was the same as the imperial Maukhari dynasty. As Bhogavarman is described as the 'crest-jewel' of this dynasty, he may have been the king or a royal-prince. The point is further strengthened by the fact that in the same inscription Bhogavarman is said to have "by his glory put to shame (all) hostile kings." Thus there are grounds for strong suspicion that Bhogavarman belongs to the imperial Maukhari dynasty, and he may have been a descendant of Pūrnavarman, if the latter was a Maukhari. After the overthrow of Arjuna, (the minister of Harṣa), it is possible that Bhogavarman may have come into possession of Kanauj, the ancestral capital of the Maukharis: but the Nepal inscription gives no regal title to him, nor does it suggest his connection with Kanauj. It is possible that he became a vassal of Ādityasena, who in order to win the valorous Maukharis to his side in the difficult days of empire-building, married his daughter to him. Such a contingency is not rare. Harṣa married his daughter to Dhruvasena II after the latter's defeat.

In this connection it may be noted that a Nepal inscription of Amśuvarman and Śivadeva dated 318 (G. E. ?)[1] mentions one Svāmi Bhogavarman as the *dūtaka* of the grant. From another inscription dated in the year 39, we learn that Amśuvarman's sister was married to Rājaputra Śūrasena and had a son Bhogavarman and a daughter Bhāgyadevī.[2] Fleet[3] appears to be right in identifying Śrī Bhogavarman, the sister's son of Amśuvarman, with Bhogavarman the *dūtaka* of the other grant dated in 318 G. E.. But can we identify this Bhogavarman with Bhogavarman of the Maukhari race and son-in-law

1. I.A. XIV. pp. 97. ff; Fleet took the date to be 316 (C.I.I. III. App. IV. p. 175.
2. I.A. IX pp. 178 ff. C.I.I. III. App. IV. pp. 179-80.
3. C.I.I. III. App. IV. P. 177 (note 4).

of Ādityasena? In the opinion of Fleet[1] 'he (Bhogavarman of Amśuvarman's inscriptions) must not be confused, with Śivadeva II's father in-law (or Ādityasena's son in law) who was at least a generation later" Basak[2] identifies Bhogavarman, sister's son of Amśuvarman, with the son in law of Ādityasena, and he suggests that Surasena, the father of Bhogavarman (of Amsuvarman's inscriptions), may have succeeded to the throne of Kanauj after the death of Harsa and the exit of the pretender Arjuna It is possible to argue that Arjuna's rebellion may have been due to the occupation of the imperial throne of Kanauj by a member of another family, different from that of Harṣa Ādityasena came to the throne in *Cir* 650 A D , and it was not impossible for him to marry his daughter to Bhogavarman, who is mentioned in a Nepal inscription dated in the year 39, and in G E 318 (=637 A D). The marriage may have taken place in *Cir* 650 A D soon after the accession of Ādityasena and before his *digvijaya* If so, Bhogavarman must have been middle-aged at the time of the marriage This is not strange, specially when it was guided by political considerations Śurasena, father of Bhogavarman, may have sought refuge in Nepal after the death of Purnavarman, or after the latter s practical vassalage to Harṣa. Śurasena is called '*Rajaputra*,' so he may have been a royal prince of the dynasty of Harivarman or Purnavarman Bhogavarman, the son of Śurasena, rose into prominence in the court of his maternal uncle Amśuvarman, and may have been favoured with the important job of a *dutaka* of the grant at quite an early age When Nepal became subject to Tibetan imperialism and Northern India fell into confusion soon after the death of Harṣa and Tibetan aggression, when Arjuna became ruler of Tīrabhukti, and Madhavagupta of Magadha, Bhogavarman may have left Nepal and come to Kanauj, the ancient Maukharl capital. Ādityasena, who was inspired by

4 *Ibid*
5. H N E I p 290

imperial ambitions like Samudra Gupta, may have won him over by a matrimonial alliance at a time when his kingdom was surrounded by hostile powers Bhogavarman also may have seen obvious benefits accuring from such a relationship and agreed to remain a subordinate vassal to his more powerful father-in law This alliance may have helped Ādityasena to extend his dominion far into the western portion of the Uttara Pradesh along the river Gomati

Ādityasena not only inherited the political legacy of his great predecessors, the imperial Guptas and Harsa, but also their religious eclecticism He was a follower of Brahmanism and worshipped Visnu he is called *Paramabhagavata*' in the Deo-Baranark inscription.[1] His queen Konadevi excavated a tank on the Mandara hill[2] He is said to have established an image of the good Nrihari,[3] a form of Visnu He is also credited with the performance of the horse and other sacrifices[4] During his reign his *baladhikrita* Śalapaksa installed an image (of the Sun) in the *agrahara* of Nālanda[5] He caused to be made a temple of Visnu[6] He is referred to as laying out 'the path of the Vedas'[7] Though he was, thus, certainly a follower of Brahmanism and its sacrifices, he also patronised Buddhism The Chinese pilgrim Hwui Lun noticed a temple newly finished by Ādityasena for the priests of the South[8] King Śri (Ādityasena ?) in the M M. K is described as having built seven or eight monasteries and to have lived up to eighty one years[9] His regin may have come to an end in 675 A D

Devagupta

Ādityasena was succeeded by his son Devagupta, born of Mahādevī Konadevi He is described as '*Paramabhattaraka*

1. C.I I III. pp 214 ff
2. *Ibid* pp 212 ff
3. *Ibid* p 213 (note), J A S B LII pp 190-91
4. *Ibid*
5. C I I III pp 208 ff
6. C.I I III pp 200 ff
7. *Ibid* p 213 (note)
8. The *Life* Intro p XXXVI
9. I H I pp 68-69

Maharajadhirāja Param'śvara' in the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II[1] He succeeded to the extensive empire and paramount status earned by his father In Chalukya records Vinayāditya, who came to the throne in 680 A D,[2] is reported to have fought and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India (whose name is not given), and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy such as a certain standard called *Palidhvaja*, the drum called *dhakkā* and others This event must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors[3] His son Vijayaditya, "pushing on further to the north than even himself, acquired again the *palidhvaja* banner, and also the signs of the rivers Gangā and the Yamuna, the *dhakka* drum and other attributes and wealth"[4] Therefore it is reasonable to hold that the Chalukya victory over the paramount ruler of Northern India occurred after the Śaka year 616 (=694 A D) and before 696 A D, when Vijayaditya came to the throne The paramount ruler of Northern India referred to in the Chalukya records was most probably Devagupta No other king could possibly be described as such in the later part of the seventh century after Christ We have already seen that the temple built by Ādityasena by the side of Kiu-lu-kia temple was situated in the Uttara Pradesh west of Allahabad His successor, Devagupta, could easily have held suzerainty over the Doab, and therefore by defeating him, Vinayaditya claimed to to have acquird the imperial signs of the rivers Ganga and the Yamuna

I-T'sing, *who came to India in 672 73 and returned to Si-king in 695 A D,*[5] has written Kau fā-kao sang chūen in two parts, being an account of eminent priests of Buddhist converts who visited India from China and bordering districts. In this is included the account of the Korean traveller Hwui-Lun He

1. C.I I III pp 214 ff
2 Bomb Gaz Vol I. p II p 367
3 Bomb Gaz Vol I Pt II p 180
4 *Ibid* p 368
5. Takakusu *op ci* Intro. P XVIII

mentions a Chinese Temple built by Śrī Gupta, who also granted land and revenue of about twenty villages for the upkeep of the temple. This temple was not far from the Deer Temple. The land formerly granted to the China Temple was then under the king of Eastern India, whose name was Devavarman, but "he is said to be willing to give back the temple, land and the endowment in case any priests came from China"[1] There has been going on an unending controversy about the identification of the king Devavarman. We have already seen that some try to identify him with an unknown king of Kāmarūpa. R. C. Majumdar[2] identified him with Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty. D. C. Ganguli[3] supports Majumdar. Inscriptions of the Khaḍgas have been found at Ashrafpur in the Dacca district. The first inscription mentions Devakhaḍga, his wife Prabhāvati and their son Rājarājabhaṭa.[4] R. L. Mitra wrongly read the date as 713. Hoernle read the date as year 13 on both the inscriptions[5] and referred it to the Newar era, which commenced in 880 A. D.. G. N. Laskar also followed Hoernle in holding that both the inscriptions are dated in the year 13, but claimed that this is the regnal year of Devakhaḍga.[6] He assigned the inscriptions to the 8th or 9th century A. D. In the opinion of R. D. Bannerji the grants are to be dated in the first part of the 10th century.[7] But Bhattasali held that the writing is akin to the Banskhera and Madhuban plates of Harṣa, and less advanced than those of the Aphsaḍ and Shahpur inscriptions of Ādityasena ; and therefore in his opinion the plates must belong to the 7th century A. D.[8] R. C. Majumdar agreed with this conclusion based on epigraphy.[9] According to Majumdar, while the first plate is dated in the year 13 the

1. The *Life*. Intro. p. XXXVII.
2. J.A.S.B. XIX. (N.S.) pp. 375 ff; D.H.B.R., p. 25
3. I H Q. XIV pp. 532 ff.
4. P J A.S.B. 1885, pp. 49 ff.
5. P J. A. S. B. 1891. pp. 119 ff.
6. M. A. S. B. I. No. 6. pp. 85 ff.
7. M. A. S. B. X. p. 67.
8. J. A. S. B. X (N. S.) pp. 85 ff.
9. *Ibid*. XIX. pp. 375 ff.

second plate is dated in year 73 or 79, which is to be assigned to the Harsa Era[1] Basak finds it difficult to endorse the revised reading of Majumdar, and points out that "attention may be drawn to the fact that the day of the month in the plate, whether it be 25 or 28 is indicated by the system of letter-numerals, the first sign being a symbol for 20, and the second for either 5 or 8 the use of the two different systems in two successive lines in the same inscription for indicating number cannot be easily explained" The learned scholar is constrained to remark that "the first symbol in the reading of the year numb r is really a puzzling one," and he fully agrees with Bhattasali's opinion that these Khadga inscriptions "cannot be assigned a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century A D '[2] An examination of the facsimiles of the two inscriptions makes it absolutely obvious that there is a vast difference between the two numeral figures in the two inscriptions, although both have been read as denoting 10 by Hoernle and Laskar D C Ganguli[3] on the authority of the first Damodarpur plate and the Mallasarul copper-plate reads the date on the second Ashrafpur plate as 7, and holds that it is in the regnal year of Devakhadga We are disposed to agree with this reading It is really important to bear in mind that we have no other instance of an inscription in East Bengal dated *in the Harsa era, and it is, therefore, more plausible that both* these inscriptions are dated in the regnal years of Devakhadga. From the inscriptions we learn of four generations of the dynasty—Khadgodyama, his son Jatakhadga, his son Devakhadga and his son Rajaraja or Rajarajabhata Rajaraja, son of Devakhadga according to the second copper plate, may be identified with Rajarajabhata son of Devakhadga and Prabhavati of the 1st copper plate But it is to be noted that in none of these two inscriptions is Rajarajabhata described as a king

1 E H B R pp. 22
2 H N E I pp 2?2 3
3 E. I XXVI pp 125 126.

Scholars, as we have already seen, are divided as to the period to which these rulers belong. I-T'sing mentions Hwui-Lun noticing Devavarman, a king of Eastern India, who was the master of the land and endowment granted to the China Temple Seng-chi, who arrived by the sea route, found a Buddhist king Rājabhata in Samatata[1] Majumdar has identified Devavarman and Rajabhata with Devakhadga and Rajarājabhata.[2] But there is no agreement among scholars on the date of the Khadga kings Moreover, the China Temple and the endowed land were situated far west of Nalandā, and there is absolutely no evidence at all to make the kingdom of the Khadgas extend to Magadha, and much farther west Their rule appears to have been confined to the Samatata region D C Ganguli's thesis that the China Temple lay in Murshidabad district of Bengal—a hypothesis supported by Majumdar-may have added weight to the proposed identification of Devavarman with Devakhadga, but we have already shown that it rested on an accidental omission of the vital part of a sentence in the translation of the passage by Beal in the *Life* Again, Devakhadga was a devout Buddhist, but Devavarman of I-T'sing's account does not appear to be so[3] Devavarman "was *willing to give back* the temple land and the endowments in case any priests came from China"[4] Had he been a Buddhist he must have continued the endowment to the temple, and taken it under his charge, and would not only have expressed his willingness to hand it over to the Chinese priests certainly the temple itself, and not only its foundations should have remained in existence if the lands lay in the kingdom of devout Buddhist king like Devakhadga R N Saletore[5] takes Devavarman to be a Maukhari and successor of Bhogavarman as the ruler of Eastern India Except for its novelty, the suggestion

1. The *Life* Intro p XL-XLI
2. H B R I p 87 J A S B XIX (N. S) pp. 375 ff
3. I C II pp 97 ff
4. The *Life* p XXXVII
5. J U B XIV (N S) p 12.

is hardly worth serious notice. Bhogavarman could not be a king of Eastern India, and it is hardly fair to suppose the existence of another Maukhari ruler of the name of Devavarman. In view of these objections and above all the uncertainty of the chronology of the Khadga dynasty, we agree with Basak[1] in identifying Devavarman with Devagupta son of Ādityasena. Majumdar[2] is not quite correct in stating that according to I-T'sing Devavarman and Ādityasena were contemporaries. Ādityasena is referred to as 'a recent king', or 'in recent times', and Devavarman is mentioned as the ruling king. It appears that Devavarman immediately followed Ādityasena and we know from the Deo-Baranārk inscription[3] that Ādityasena was succeeded by his son Devagupta, who was a devotee of Śiva (*Paramamāheśvara*) ; so Devavarman, 'king of Eastern India' of I-T'sing's account, is Devagupta of the later Gupta dynasty.[4]

Devagupta was a paramount ruler and has been described as *'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara'* in the Deo-Baranārk inscription. It is obvious that he maintained intact the empire bequeathed to him by Ādityasena. His rule may have come to an end in *Cir.* 695 A. D.[5]

1. H N F. I. p. 130.
2. J. A. S. B. (N. S) XIX. p. 378.
3. C. I. I. III. pp. 214 ff.
4. It is no doubt true that in the Chinese rocords, Magadha is placed *in Madhyadeśa and not in Eastern India. It may be that because Devagupta* was master of Gauda as well, which has been placed in Eastern India that Devavarman (Devagupta) is referred to as king of Eastern India I-T'sing travelled by the Southern Sea route and he came to Gauḍa first. At that time Devagupta was ruling over Gauḍa in Eastern India Therefore he took Devagupta whom he called Devavarman, to be a king of Eastern India It may be of some significance to note that in the Sanskrit literature Magadha is often placed in Eastern India Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna does so (M P P p 330) In Yādavaprakaśa, a work of the 11th century, Magadha is included in Prachya (I H Q XIX p. 214)
5. From the inscription of Vijayādiya (I A IX. pp 127 and 131) dated 700 A. D we come to know that Vinayāditya had defeated some 'paramount sovereign of Northern India and had acquired many signs of paramountcy (*parameśvara chinha*)' This happened between 694 and 696 A. D., many say in 695 A. D Devagupta who is the *Sakalottara pathanatha* of the Chālukya records, may not have survived the Chālukya invasion of his dominion *If* 'Deva, the king of Magadha' of the Ārya mañju śrī mūlakalpa is identified with Devagupta (I H I. pp 42-43,) then it appears that he met a violent death, as he is reported to have been "surrounded on all sides by enemies, suppressed and killed." He might have died fighting the Chālukyas.

Visnugupta

Devagupta was succeeded by his son Visnugupta, born of *Paramabhattarika Rajni Mahadevi* Kamaladevi[1] An inscription of the '*Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Sri* Viṣnugupta' has been found at Mangraon, situated in the area between the bed of the river Ganges at Buxar and the northern parts of the Kaimur plateau in the Shahabad district of Bihar The plate is in the Patna Museum From the plate it appears that in the 17th year of the glorious reign of Visnugupta, one Avimuktajna of the Kuttuka country purchased a pala of oil from the house holders of the village Angara (Mangaraon) and presented it to the lord Śri Subhadreśvara to be placed on the scale of flowers attached to the temple of *Śri-Mittrakeśavadeva* situated in the hermitage of Chundaskila This *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara* has been identified with Visnugupta of the later Gupta dynasty, on the grounds of paleography, as the characters of the inscription are much later in development than those of the Nalanda seal of Visnugupta[2] The inscription proves beyond doubt that Visnugupta the king of Magadha, continued to hold the south western limits of the present district of Shahabad It may be easily surmised that some parts of the Uttara Pradesh must have been included in his kingdom It is possible to believe that Viṣnugupta continued to rule in glory over the extensive empire of Magadha, like his father and grandfather Viṣnugupta may have ruled for twenty years or more i e , from *Cir* 695 to 715 A D

Jivitagupta

Jivitagupta II, begotten on the *Paramabhattarika Rājñi Mahadevi* Ijjadevi, succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Viṣnugupta We have only one inscription—that of Deo-Baranark[3]—issued by him The record informs us that from the victorious camp situated near the fort of Gomati

1 C.I I III pp 214 ff
2 J B R S XXX pp 199 ff
3. C I I III pp 214 ff.

kottaka, Jīvitagupta II granted the village (Deo-Baranārk) which was formerly granted by the emperors Bālāditya, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman Fleet read in line 10 of the inscription the name of the village Kiśoravataka. He was also not certain whether the village granted was Deo-Baranārk or Kiśorvātaka (?)[1] Majumdar[2] went further and held that the village granted was Kiśoravātaka, and it may have been situated west of Banaras along the river Gomati, and Jīvitagupta II may have conquered the region west of Magadha The learned scholar observed that in such a case 'the inscription may be regarded as a reminiscence of the reconquest of a portion of the old Maukhari kingdom by Jīvitagupta II'[3] It may be pointed out that the above suggestion is based on a mistake committed by Fleet The inscription leaves no doubt that the village Vārunikā (or modern Deo-Baranārk) was certainly the object of the grant As for the alleged village Kiśoravātaka, it is important to note that Fleet doubtfully restored the reading as such. The relevant part of the inscription is very badly damaged Kielhorn[4] had suggested that it did not contain the name of a village like Kiśoravātaka but was part of a fuller legend —'*Kisoravadavagomahisyadhikrita.*' D C Sircar has suggested an improvement on the reading of the lines 8 12 of the inscription by Fleet, and Sircar finds no place-name like Kiśoravataka in line 10, he also reads, instead, 'Kisorovadavāgomahi (syādhikrta)' He observes that "there is certainly no question of the name of any village in ll 8-13 which contain the customary list of officers, there is thus no doubt that the Vārunikā was the village granted by Jīvitagupta "[5] The inscription makes it clear that Deo Baranārk, 25 miles S W of Arrah, was under

1. *Ibid*
2. I C. XI pp 124 ff
3. *Ibid*
4. In Fleet's personal copy of the Corpus Indicarum Inscription Vol III now in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies London we saw a reference about Kielhorn's modification of Fleet's reading in Fleet's own handwriting We have not been able to find the source of Fleet's statement
5. JASBL XI p 69 ff

Jivitagupta II The fact that the grant was issued from near the fort Gomatikottaka, which must have been situated along the river Gomati in the Uttara Pradesh, proves that his dominion extended far west into the Uttara Pradesh, west of Banaras The grant was issued 'from the victorious camp possessed of shouts of victory acquired by the three constituents of power, and invincible through (its) equipment of great ships and elephants and horses and foot soldiers (and) situated near the fort of Gomatikoṭtaka'[1] The description of the camp near the fort of Gomatikottaka suggests that Jivitagupta was on a military campaign against some enemy, who may have been Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

Jivitagupta II is the last known member of the later Gupta dynasty, and he appears to have perished fighting Yaśovarman The meteoric career of Yaśovarman is known from the Gaudavaho, a prakrit poem by his court poet Vakpatiraja Kalhana's Rajatarangini also throws some light on Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj[2] The Gaudavaho, according to its title, purports to give an account of the slaying of the king of Gauda by Yaśovarman, but actually it contains a detailed and highly embellished story of the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman, and disposes of the slaying of the Gauda king in about four couplets in all[3] The poem alludes to the defeat of the king of Magadha by Yaśovarman The conqueror arrived in the valley of the Sone river and proceeded to the Vindhyan mountains It is in the course of the description of Yaśovarman's activities in the Vindhyan region, that "it is said in somewhat obscure passage that the king of Magadha (*Magadhanatha*) fled before him through fear 'darkening the space before him with the dana (the liquid oozing from the temples) of his elephants in rut as if he caused

1 C I I III p 217

2 Many scholars have taken Yaśovarman to be a Maukhari (JMUVN XIII pp 147 ff CA R XV p 169 Cal Rev 928 p 216 JIH V pp 325 6 The Maukharis p 130) Except for the *Varman* ending of the name, there is no other evidence

3 Gauḍavaho p XLVIII

before him the darkness of a night which he created by charms "[1] Then, after the description of the rainy season, the poet says that the vassals and the nobles of the king of Magadha, who took to flight with him felt ashamed of their conduct and immediately returned to fight Yaśovarman A fierce and bloody battle was fought in which the blood of the allies of the king of Magadha reddened the field The king of Magadha fled and was pursued by Yasovarman who killed him, and then, he proceeded to that coast which was covered with woods perfumed by the cardamoms He enjoyed his wanderings through the long exten ive plantations of the cocoa palms After this, Yaśovarman is described as having conquered the king of the Vangas[2] The poet further observes that after Yasovarman returned back to Kanauj the ladies of the harem of the king of Magadha plied chamaras over him in public darbar[3] It should be obvious, therefore, that Yaśovarman defeated and killed the king of Magadha, whose ladies of the harem were reduced to slavery It is important to note that Yaśovarman is reported to have come to the Sone valley, then wandering into the Vindhyas visited the Vindhyava ini Temple in the Mirzapur district of the Eastern Uttara Pradesh , it is in the Vindhyan region that the king of Magadha fled before him The king of Maga dha was certainly Jivitagupta II The testimony read together with the Deo Barinark ins ription suggests that Jivitagupta had massed his army at Gomatikottaka, and he might have won some sort of pyrrhic victory, which has been exaggerated in the inscription[4] Yaśovarman pressed hard and entered the Sone valley Jivitagupta retracted to the north-eastern Vindhyan region—and visited the Vindhyavasini Temple The Vindhyan region of the Gaudavaho must have included the Kaimur range which is the extreme north eastern extension of the Vindhyan chain, and is in the south-west of the Shahabad

1 *Ibid* p XXIV V 354
2 *Ibid* pp XXIV XXV VS 414 417
3 *Ibid* p XXXII Vs 696 97
4 C. I I III pp 214 ff.

district of Bihar,[1] then included in Magadha Jivitagupta, deserted by his feudatories, fled before Yasovarman, then he regrouped his forces and exhorted them to face aggression with dignity But all was in vain. Yaśovarman inflicted a crushing defeat on him and pursued him, until he was ultimately killed This event may have happened in Magadha or Gauda

The poem appears to suggest that the king of Magadha and the king of Gauda were the same person [2] S P. Pandit has assumed it to be so without any hesitation From the poem we learn that the assembly of the learned expressed a desire of hearing from Vakpati ' a complete narrative (nihśesa) of the manner in which Yasovarman had killed the lord of the Magadhas "[3] According to the commentator *Magadhanatha* was *Gaudadhipati* as well [4] Another important point to be borne in mind is that in the account of the *digvijaya*, there is no separate mention of a country named Gauda After defeating and killing *Magadhanatha*, the conqueror reaches the sea-coast covered with woods perfumed by the cardamoms The next country over-run by Yaśovarman was Vanga, i e , Eastern Bengal The sea coast that was visited by Yaśovarman before the conquest of Vanga was the south western coast of Bengal, including Tamralipti, and then Yaśovarman wandered into the deltaic region before he came to Vanga As Gauda was then under the king of Magadha no separate mention of Gauda in the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman is made We have already seen that Ādityasena had extended his conquest to the shores of the ocean i e , the Bay of Bengal, and Jivitagupta II may have continued to hold that part of Bengal under him R C Majumdar, on the other hand, suggests that "if both Magadha and Gauda were under the same ruler, it was the ruler of Gauda who had Magadha under his sway rather than

1 Imp Gaz XVI map No 29

2 K S Aiyangar (JIH V p 329) and Piers E A (The Maukharis, p 139) held that the king of Magadha and the king of Gauḍa were different persons

3 Gauḍavaho XXXIV , V 844

4 *Ibid* p 235

during the time[1] The work may have been taken up during the victorious days of Yaśovarman, but before it could be completed, Yaśovarman's fortunes sank low Utgikar further suggests that the explanation of the title may be sought for "in the latent ill will that can historically be proved to have existed between the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Gauda before the time of Yaśovarman "[2] The king of Gauda and the lord of Magadha were the same person, and as we have no other evidence to postulate the existence of the Gauda supremacy over Magadha in the first half of the 8th century, it is more reasonable to believe in the suzerainty of the king of Magadha over Gauda Barua's identification of the *Gaudadhipa* with Harsadeva, the alleged king of Kamarupa is not convincing, and his proposed date of the battle, *Cir* 750 A D, is much later than the event[3] H C. Ray's suggestion[4] that the *Magadhanatha* of the Gaudavaho may be the Śaila prince referred to in the Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II is also not correct[5]

Thus, we find that Yaśovarman defeated and killed Jivitagupta II, who was the king of Gauda and Magadha From the Chinese and Tibetan records we learn that in *Cir* 703 A D Nepal and Indian provinces of the Tibetan empire revolted[6] It is quite possible that Tirabhukti, which may have formed a part of the Tibetan empire since 648 A. D, may have been annexed to the empire of Magadha in the time of Visnugupta or Jivitagupta II But the later Gupta dynasty and their extensive empire came to an inglorious end at the hands of Yasovarman That Yaśovarman overran Magadha is confirmed by the Nālandā inscription of Yaśovarmadeva.[7] The inscription mentions 'the illustrious, prosperous and highly glorious Yasovarmadeva',

1 *Ibid* p CCL.
2 Gauḍavaho, p CCL
3 Barua, K.L. *op cit* pp 114 20.
4 DHNI I p 277
5 E I. IX pp. 41 47, see *infra*
6 A study in the Chronicles of Ladakh, IHQ XV Supplement, pp 59-62, JRAS 1880 p. 456
7 E I XX pp 37 ff

who, "has risen after placing his foot on the heads of all kings" Malada, the son of his minister, made gifts to the temple which the Bālāditya had erected at Nalandā Sastri, the editor of the inscription, wrongly assumed Yaśovarman to be a contemporary of Balāditya and took Yaśovarman to be the same as Yaśodharman of the Mandasore inscriptions of the 6th century A D [1] R C Majumdar has conclusively proved that the Baladitya mentioned in the inscription is not referred to as a contempo rary of Yaśovarman, and therefore Yasovarman of the inscription should be identified with the hero of Gaudavaho [2] Scho lars have now accepted this identification In this connection, it may be pointed out that there is a mention of Yaśovarmapuravihara in the Ghosrawān inscription of Devapāla [3] Yaśovarmapura has been identified with the town of Bihar by Cunningham [5] Kielhorn[6] thinks that it may be Ghosrawan (near Bihar), where the inscription has been found Whatever may be the exact site of Yasovarmapura, it is clear that it was in the heart of Magadha, and in or near the modern town of Bihar in the Patna district This proves the connection of Yaśovarman with Magadha The town or *Vihara* of Yaśovarmapura must have been named after Yaśovarman, who may have founded it 'either to commemorate his victory over the of lord of Magadha and Gauda, or to mark the site of the battle'[7]

When did Yaśovarman defeat and and kill the king of Magadha and overrun the country? We know from the Rajatarangini that Lalitāditya of Kashmir and Yaśovarman of Kanauj were contemporaries Lalitāditya is referred to as exercising his sway over Northern India and even trans Indian

1 *Ibid*

2 R C Majumdar I H Q VII pp 644 ff *Ibid* VIII pp 371 ff

3 Tripathi, R S (TK p 205) K A N K Sastri (J M U XIII pp 147 ff) E A Piers (*The Maukhar s* pp 144 45) *Recently M Rāma* krsnakavi has doubted even the existence of any king of the name of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (D R Bhandarkar volume pp 45 ff), on grounds which are not conclusive

4 I A XVII pp 309 ff

5 C A S R *III* pp 120 135 36, *VIII* p 76

6. I A XVII p. 311, (note 30)

7 TK p 201

regions. He is reported to have extracted tribute from many eastern kings, and to have worn the turban of victory over *Antarvedi*, the Doab It is said that after the subjugation of the eastern kings, he obtained a bloodless victory over king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, but later on war broke out between the two, Yaśovarman was deposed, and later on became a dependent of Lalitāditya and was employed in proclaiming his praises like a court bard Lalitāditya then proceeded to the Eastern Sea and defeated the king of the Gaudas, and led a victorious campaign into the Deccan Relying on the Rājatarangini, Pandit came to the conclusion that Lalitāditya came to the throne in 695 A D ,[1] and his victory over Yaśovarman must have taken place in the later part of the 7th century. Cunningham[2], taking the Chinese sources into account, pointed out an error of exactly thirty one years in the Kashmirian chronology The view of Cunningham has been generally accepted by scholars, and Lalitāditya's accession has been taken to be in 724 A D Jacobi points out that verse 829 of the Gaudavaho mentions an eclipse of the sun which was visible on the 14th August, 733 A D[3] Verse 832 in the text is fairly consistent in all the MSS , and the commentator refers to the 'corner of his (Yaśovarman's) eye twisted on account of the shaking of his position that was brought about temporarily' or 'in a moment' This 'shaking of his position' has been taken by Jacobi to refer to Lalitaditya's invasion of the dominion of Yaśovarman, and the consequent defeat of the latter Bhandarkar[4] agrees with Jacobi in this interpretation of the verse. R G Bhandarkar refers to the fact that the Chinese authors mention I-cha fon-mo, a king of Central India, sending an embassy to China in 731 A D This I-cha fon mo has been 'properly identified with Yaśovarman '[5] It may be reasonably assumed that the sending of the mission to China by

1 Gauḍavaho pp LXXI XCV
2 C A G I pp 105-6
3 Gaudavaho p CCLVI
4 Gauḍavaho, pp CCLVII
5 *Ibid*

Yasovarman and the latter's defeat at the hands of Lalitāditya must have taken place after Yaśovarman had returned from the *digvijaya* and the murder of the king of Gauda In 733 A D. Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitaditya and the former accepted the latter's overlordship, thus becoming a subordinate ally In Lalitāditya's, mission to China in 736 A D , Yaśovarman is claimed as an ally It was sometime after this that Yaśovarman was finally crushed by Lalitāditya, who raided the whole of Northern India, including Gauda Therefore it should be clear that Yasovarman defeated and killed Jivitagupta II before 731 A D The *digvijaya* must have taken some years, and from the poem it is known that the king of Magadha opposed him more than once Therefore we are not far from correct in placing the defeat and death of Jīvitagupta II in *Cir* 725 A D

With the exit of Jivitagupta II, the later Gupta dynasty quitted the stage of history The empire of Magadha laboriously rebuilt by Ādityasena thus perished The centre of gravity again shifted from Magadha to Kanauj in Madhyadeśa Since the defeat of Mahāsenagupta, Magadha had yielded the palm to Kanauj, and had remained its appendage for many years, though sometime it had transferred its allegiance to Karnasuvarna in Bengal. With the rise of Ādityasena, Magadha regained much of its lost position and emerged as the supreme power in Northern India. But the struggle for the imperial honour and status continued for many centuries afterwards, and *Dame Fortune* as usual sometimes favoured Magadha and some times Kanauj

But the end of the later Gupta dynasty did not only mean the eclipse of Magadha, at least for some time to come Worse than that, it heralded an era of anarchy and confusion in the Gangetic valley, and Magadha and Bengal suffered most The fall of Yaśovarman was as rapid as his rise. Though he was a great conqueror, he failed to consolidate his newly acquired prizes and became a prey to the covetous eyes of his *more powerful contemporary*, Lalitāditya of Kashmir After defeating Yaśovarman, Lalitāditya invaded Eastern India down to the sea,

and defeated the king of Gauda, who later on went to Kashmir, *where he was treacherously murdered Even if the story of the* Rajatarangini is true, it is not easy to identify the unfortunate king of Gauda [1] Lalitaditya's invasion was soon followed by Jayapida's wandering in lands east of Prayaga He is said to have come to Pundravardhana, married the daughter of Jayanta, the king of Puṇḍravardhana, and helped the latter in bringing 'the five Gaudas' or 'the five kings of Gauda', under subjection to his father-in law The Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana II refer to the conquest of Pundra by a prince of the Śaila dynasty, and the brother of this prince captured Kaśi [2] H. C Ray[3] takes this Śaila prince to be the *Magadhanatha* of the Gauda vaho We believe that *Magadharatha* was Jivitagupta, and the activities of the new rising dynasty of the Śailas in North Bengal and Eastern U P, and possibly including Magadha, must be placed in the period following the defeat of Jivitagupta by Yaśovarman, and possibly after Yaśovarman's discomfiture at the hands of Lalitaditya To this period also belongs Harsadeva of the Nepal stone-inscription. After the disruption of the Gupta empire, consequent upon the lightning raid of Yaśovarman, Gauda may have come under Harsadeva, who is referred to as 'the lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, Kosala and other lands', and the father in law of Jayadeva, the king of Nepal [4] He may have suffered at the hands of Lalitaditya and finally lost his life in Kashmir The king of 'the five Gaudas'

1 Jayasval (I H I p 71) suggested that the king of Gauda was Jivita gupta II We think that the Gauḍa king defeated and murdered by Lalitaditya was Śri Harsadeva of the Bhagadatta royal line and the lord of Gauda Odra, Kosala and other lands whose daughter Rajyamati was *married to Jayadeva of Nepal (I A IX pp 178 ff) The inscription is* dated in the year 153 and if the era began in 595 A D then its date is 748 A D It is possible that Harsadeva was dead at the time He may have been the vict m of Lal taditya s aggress on and of the treachery of the Kashmiri people

2 E I IX pp 41 47

3 *D H N I* I pp 275 77

4 I A IX, pp 178 ff Harṣadeva is descr bed as belonging to the royal Bhagadatta line K. L. Barua (*op cit* pp 111 119) took him as a king of Kāmarupa N Vasu dist nguished between this Harśadeva and Harṣadeva of Kāmarupa, and suggested that Harsadeva may have ruled in the western portions of Eastern India (Social History of Kamarūpa, III pp 30-

reduced by Jayapida, the prince of Kashmir, may have belonged to the Śaila dynasty known from the Ragholi plate The short period of just above thirty years between the death of Jivitagupta and the rise of Gopala is full of external invasions and consequent chaos The reference to 'five Gaudas' in the Kashmiri chronicles and later literature proves the political dismemberment of the *Gauda-tantra* mentioned in the Ārya-Mañjuśri-mula-kalpa To fill the vacuum created by the disappearance of the later Gupta dynasty, competing powers and upstart dynasties appeared on the scene, and instead of re-establishing peace, added to the miseries of the people, who were victims of unsettled government or rather anarchy

It is, therefore, obvious that the extinction of the later Gupta dynasty marks the end of an epoch The era of *Pax-Magadhica* established by the imperial Guptas and restored by Ādityasena disappeared Yaśovarman did worse mischief than Yaśodharman *The raids of Yaśodharman had sounded* practically the death-knell of the Gupta empire , but fortunately the later Gupta dynasty under Kumāragupta rapidly succeeded to the heritage, and therefore the death or disappearance of *Yaśodharman did not usher in a period of as much anarchy as* the failure of Yaśovarman to build up a consolidated and well-governed empire in place of the one which he had overthrown So the quick discomfiture of Yaśovarman was in a sense more *unfortunate to Magadha and Gauda than their humiliation* by the defeats inflicted by Yaśovarman The rich central and lower Gangetic valley became a prey to internal disorder and external aggressions Not one single powerful personality arose, *immediately, on the ruins of the Gupta* dynasty to give the

32) Sen (*op cit* p 288) and Basak (H N E I pp 237 238) also take Harsadeva to be a king of Kamarupa The king of Gauda defeated by Lalitaditya had numerous elephants 'carrying the couch of Lakṣmī who was attached to the king *Elephants were always* associated with the kings of Kamarupa from the days of the Mahabharata So the Gauda king defeated by Lalitaditya may have been a king of Kāmarūpa But it has been recently shown that the kings of the Kara dynasty of Orissa also claimed descent from Bhagadatta and Harṣadeva may have [illegible] Orissa (I H Q XIV pp 841 ff, HBR I p 80)

desired peace and settled government necessary for econom development and cultural advance. A period of '*Matsyanyāy* —of anarchy in which the larger fish swallowed the smalle descended on Bihar and Bengal after the death of Jivitagupt and continued till the rise of Gopāla, who was elected king t end this period of 'the Law of the fish'.

CHAPTER XI

THE RISE OF THE PĀLAS

With the extinction of the later Gupta dynasty, peace and security departed from Magadha and Gauda Yaśovarman's invasion of the eastern countries was only a prelude to other raids Lalitāditya of Kashmir, the Śailas, and the Bhagadattas, as we have seen, raided the fair provinces As a result of these raids, there was complete confusion in the provinces, parcelled into fragments under petty rulers determined to prey upon one another. The people must have suffered terribly from this misgovernment, indeed non-government When rulers failed to give peace, which was their first responsibility, people and their leaders decided to terminate the state of anarchy—'*matsyanyāya*' It was under such critical circumstances that the Palas under Gopala came to power

The Buddhist historian Taranātha says that Gopāla was elected king [1] This is corroborated by epigraphy The Khalimpur copper plate inscription of Dharmapāla informs us that "the people made (Gopāla) take the hand of Fortune, to put an end to the practice of fishes"[2] From this it is, no doubt, *unsafe to hold that there was a regular election of Gopāla by* the people in a formal constitutional way We do not kown how the election was conducted, and what were the qualifications of the electors It is quite possible that Gopala was chosen king by the leaders of the important elements of population, and the selection was popular Whatever may have been the precise conditions regulating the rise of Gopāla, the fact that he is described as an elected king is very important in the history of India. It suggests political consciousness of the people

1. I. A IV. p 366.
2. E. I. IV. p 251.

Home of the Palas

Taranatha gives us a mythical story, perhaps intermingled with a streak of historical tradition about the birth of Gopala and his election as a king According to the Tibetan historian, Gopala was born of a Ksatriya woman and a Tree-god near Pundravardhana This boy was a devotee of the goddess Chundi, who directed him (in a dream) to go to the *vihara* of Khasarpana, there he prayed for a kingdom and was bidden to proceed towards the east At that time the kingdom of Bhengala had been without a king for many years, and people were suffering. Many kings were elected but all were killed by a Naga woman Ultimately Gopala killed the woman, and the people hailed him as their king[1] A similar tradition is recorded by another Tibetan historian Bu-Ston 'In the eastern Khadira forest, in the trunk of a high tree dwelt a tree spirit Now it happened that a shepherd of that country had died and his beautiful wife was tending the sheep The tree spirit, mentioned, had sexual intercourse with her, and from their union a remarkable son was born, named Gopala He obtained the royal power over the whole country by the force of his virtues'[2] In the Ramacharita[3] Varendra is referred to as '*janakabhu*,' or paternal kingdom of the Palas It is true that a very overwhelming majority of the inscriptions of the Palas are found in Bihar The Pala dynasty continued longest in Magadha Buddist monasteries of Magadha were patronised by them and many new monasteries were established in Magadha All these facts lead to a strong presumption that Magadha was the heart of the Pala kingdom, but it was not the home of the Palas

The Caste and Ancestors of Gopala

The Khalimpur copper plate inscription of Dharmapala,[4] the son of Gopala, begins the genealogy from Dayitavisnu, the

1 I H Q VIII pp 530 31 *Ibid* XVI pp 219 ff
2 Bu Ston—History of Buddism (Eng Trans) Part II p. 156
3 M A S B III pp 20 21
4 E I IV p 251

grandfather of Gopāla Dayıtavısnu ıs descrıbed as 'brıght wıth learnıng' and 'the progenıtor of the foremost lıne of kıngs' Hıs son was Śrı Vāpyata, "who, full of pıety, as far as the ocean embellıshed the earth wıth massıve temples, and became famous as the destroyer of adversarıes" Accordıng to J. C Ghosh,[1] Śrı Vāpyata was the first kıng of the lıne and he ıdentıfies hım wıth Rajabhata of the phrase '*Rājabhata-dıvamsapatıta*' occurrıng ın the colophon of a commentary of Astasahasrıka prajnāpāramıta by Harıbhadra ın the tıme of Dharmapāla[2] Muhammad Shaıdullah[3] takes Vāpyata to be the kıng of Pundra, who was kılled by the elder brother of the grand father of Jayavardhana II of the Ragholı Plates[4] Except for the epıthet *Śrı* there ıs nothıng to confirm the suggestıon that Vapyata was the first kıng of the dynasty A C Bannerjı[5] has rıghtly poınted out that ıt ıs not unıversally true that ın makıng grants the genealogy ıs begun from the grandfather of the grantor; and, therefore, the fact that Dayıtavısnu and Vapyata are not mentıoned ın any grant of the Pāla rulers except ın the Khalımpur copper-plate, proves that they were consıdered ınsıgnıficant compared to Gopāla and hıs successors Vapyata was 'perhaps a mılıtary chıef'[6] From the account of Tāranātha, Bu Ston,[7] M M K and ınscrıptıons, ıt ıs obvıous that Gopāla was the first kıng of the dynasty, and hıs ancestors were persons of ınconsıderable ımportance

In a colophon of the commentary of the Astasāhasrıkā-prajñāpāramıtā by Harıbhadra belongıng to the reıgn of Dharmapāla, the latter ıs descrıbed as '*Rajabhatādıvamśapatıta*.'[8] H P. Sastrı[9] suggested that Dharmapāla "belonged to the famıly of a mılıtary officer of some kıng," and proposed that

1. I H Q. IX p 489
2. M A S B III, pp 5 6
3. I H Q VII, p 535
4. E I IX pp 41 ff
5. I H Q. VIII pp 367 ff
6. HBR. I, p. 98
7. Bu-Ston (Pt. II) *op. cı.* p. 156.
8. M A. S B III pp 5-6.
9. *Ibıd.* p. 6

Dayitaviṣṇu may have been connected with Mātṛviṣṇu of the Eran inscription[1] There is really no real evidence to connect the Palas with the family of Matṛviṣṇu in Malwa, save and and except the fact that the name of the grandfather of Gopala ended in—visnu Some scholars have taken Rajabhata to be a proper name and identified him with Rajabhata of Sing Chi's account,[2] and Rajarajabhata, son of Devakhadga of the Khadga dynasty[3] In the Chatsu inscription[4] of Baladitya, Śankaragana is said to have defeated Bhaṭa the king of Gauda Bhandarkar[5] took '*Bhata*' to mean more than a mere soldier, probably a dynastic appellation, and identified him with Śurapala R C Majumdar,[6] who made Śankaragana contemporary with Dharmapala, translated '*Bhata*' as a 'warrior' The supposed connection of the Palas with the Khadgas may find support from the fact that both the Palas and the Khadgas were Buddhists, and the Palas may have succeeded the Khadgas in Samatata But the word '*patita*' is generally used in a derogatory sense Some suggest that it may mean 'descent from the female line'[7] The most simple and plausible meaning of the phrase is "descended or fallen from the dynasty of military chiefs' It is possible that during the confused and unstable days in the first half of the 8th century, a family of military chiefs might have come into some prominence Bengal, speci ally Northern Bengal, was the scene of many foreign invasions and changes of regimes, and in these days Vapyata must have fought many battles, as known from the Khalimpur plate[8] H P Sastri's suggestion[9], that Vapyata may have played an important part in the troublous time which followed the fall of the king of Gauda at the hands of Yaśovarman, is very plausible

1 C I I III No 19 pp 88 ff
2 The *Life* pp XL-XLI
3 J A S B 1923 p 378
4 E I XII pp 10 ff
5 *Ibid*
6 J L \ pp 40-41 Note 4
7 I H Q VII p 533 Muhammad Sheh dulla thinks that Dedda devi wife of Gopala may have been a grand daughter of King Rajabhaṭa.
8. E I IV p 251
9. M A S B III p 2

The wife of Gopāla and the mother of Dharmapāla was Deddadevi, who is described as '*Bhadrātmaja*'[1] Kielhorn[2] took it to mean that Deddadevi was the daughter of the Bhadra king Some took it to stand for the wife of Kubera, while A K. Mitra thought that it meant 'the daughter of a gentleman' Kielhorn[3] regarded 'Bhadra' as the tribal or family name of the ruling king whose daughter was Deddadevi It may be pointed out that if 'Bhadra' meant a mere gentleman, there is no sufficient reason why the scribe of the Khalimpur plate of the emperor Dharmapāla would mention this insignificant (?) fact The only logical presumption is that if 'Bhadratmaja' does refer to Deddadevi, it signifies some important family connection According to Yuan Chwang[4] Śilabhadra, the Patriarch of Nalandā, belonged to the Brahmanical royal family of Samatata This postulates the existence of a royal Bhadra family in Samatata It may be that Gopāla married a princess of this ruling family, and, naturally, for the Palas of humble ancestry, it was a fact to be worth noting in the inscriptions

The Palas' inscriptions of earlier times do not allude at all to any glorious and legendary descent—a custom otherwise common with contemporary dynasties The Ārya Mañjuśri mula kalpa[5] takes Gopala to be of menial caste (*dasa jivinah*) In the colophon of the Aṣtasahasrikā prajñāpāramitā, quoted above, Dharmapāla is referred to as '*Rajabhatādivamśapatitah*'[6] In the Vyāsa Purāna embedded in the Ballalacharita, the Pālas have been described as 'the worst of the Kṣatriyas.'[7] Tāranātha[8] says that Gopāla was born at Pundravardhana of a beautiful Ksatriya woman who was in liaison

1. E. I IV pp 251 ff
2. *Ibid* (note 6)
3 *Ibid* (note 6)
4 Watters II p 109 I C II pp 795-97
5 I H I. p 72 v 883
6 M A S B III pp 5 6
7 *Ibid* p 4
8 I H Q, VIII pp 530-531

with a tree god Bu Ston[1] refers to the traditions that Gopala was born of a shepherd's widow and a tree-spirit, and makes Dharmapala the offspring of the queen of Gopala and a Naga king The Bengali tradition as embodied in the Kanurpāla of Ghenarama's Dharmamangala informs us that Devapala was born of the wife of Dharmapala and the Ocean god in the guise of Dharmapala [2] It is true that none of the traditions quoted above is absolutely reliable, but these many references belonging to different periods and entirely different sources about the unorthodox birth of the early Pala kings certainly lead to a strong presumption that there was a persistent tradition that the Palas belong to a low caste or impure descent, the references to the Nagas and tree spirits were made to cover their illegitimacy That may explain the use of the word *'patita'* in the Colophon, cited above H P Sastri's suggestion[3] that the dynasty was illegitimate may be true.

An epigraphic confirmation of this suspicion may be sought in a verse referring to Gopala in the inscriptions of Narayanapala and his successors. Gopala is compared to the Buddha The verse includes this—"*Jitva yah kamakari prabhavamabhibhavam saśvatimprapa santim sa śrimanlokanatho jayati dasaba lonyascha Gopaladevah*" It is significant to note that this verse about Gopala does not appear in the inscriptions of Dharma pala and Devapāla and for the first time appears in the Bhagal pur plate of Narayanapala [4] The phrase *'Kamakari prabhavam abhibhavam'* when referred to Gopala may perhaps mean 'overcoming (the scandal attached to his profligate birth' The Pala dynasty founded by Gopala had established itself in the country and Gopala and his successors had brilliant achievements to their credit. It is therefore very natural that in the fourth generation from Gopala in the time of Narāyanapala, it was possible for the latter to claim that whatever scan-

1 Bu Ston *op cit*, Part II p 155
2 M A S B III p 2
3. M A S B III p 6
4 I A XV p 305

dals may have been attached to his birth, Gopāla had overcome these by his good work.

It is true that because the Pālas were Buddhist, they were not interested in parading a mythical descent from epic heroes or Brahmanical gods, as did other contemporary dynasties. Therefore, it may be suggested that the absence of the mention of such claims in their inscriptions does not show that they were not of good descent. But it is hard to avoid a feeling of suspicion when we find that coupled with a studied silence about their descent, we have many references about their impure or unnatural origin. The suspicion is further strengthened when we find that in later years, when the Pālas had established themselves as a powerful ruling dynasty, claims were made for their descent from the mythical Solar dynasty and Samudrakula. Vaidyadeva in his Kamauli inscription[1] referred to the Pālas as belonging to the Sun (Mihiravamśa). In the Rāmacharita,[2] the Buddhist Pāla king Rāmapāla is said to belong to the dynasty of the Ocean,—Samudra-kula. Dharmapāla, the king of Northern India referred to in the Udayasundarīkathā by Soddhala of the 11th Century A D., is here spoken of as belonging to the family of Māndhātā (Solar family), and this Dharmapāla is most probably the famous Pāla emperor of the same name[3] J C. Ghosh[4] tried to identify Samudrakula with Sūryakula. In the opinion of R. C Majumdar, as Gopāla became first 'a king of Bhengala', i e. South-East Bengal, bordering on the sea, his dynasty may have been called 'Samudrakula.' It may be pointed out that both Dayitavisnu and Vāpyaṭa are closely associated with the sea Verse 2 of the Khalimpur inscription[5] states that "as the sea is the birth-place of the blessed Goddess of Fortune, and the moon the source of that lustre which gladdens the universe, so Dayitavisnu, bright

1. E I II p 350
2. M.A S B III. p. 20.
3. A B.O R I. XIII pp 197 ff, Udayasundarikatha, p 4. *Mandhatrivamśaprabhavah*
4. I H Q. IX. pp. 484-5.
5 E.I. IV. p. 251.

with all learning, became the progenitor of the foremost line of kings." Verse 3 of the same inscription speaks of Vāpyaṭa as building temples 'as far as the ocean embellished the earth.' R. D. Bannerji, relying on these verses and on the allusion to 'Samudrakula' in the Rāmacharita, believed that the Pālas had descended from the sea. The fact is that only in much later times the Pālas are connected with the Sun or Sea dynasty At the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to fix their lineage; but it is very probable that their origins were not only humble but also impure from the point of view of the Hindu Law of Caste. *But when they established their* position as a powerful ruling dynasty, they were accepted as Ksatriyas, even though the worst of them. They intermarried with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Haihayas. It appears that the mother of Gopāla had some promiscuous relations which made the Pālas 'patita' or '*dāsajīvinaḥ*.' Abul Fazul[1] took them to be Kāyasthas.

The original kingdom of Gopāla.

What was the original kingdom of Gopāla ? This is a subject still obscure. In the Ramacharita and its Commentary there are passages which show that Varendrī (North Bengal) was the '*janakabhū*' of the Pālas. From the Dinajpur pillar-inscription we learn that in the later part of the 10th century, Northern Bengal was occupied by the Kāmbojas[2] In the Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla I we are told that he "obtained his paternal kingdom which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it."[3] This may relate to Mahīpāla's reconquest of Northern Bengal from the Kāmbojas. In the Kamauli inscription of Vaidyadeva,[4] Rāmapāla's victory over the Kaivartas has been described as leading to the acquisition of '*janakabhū*.' Thus, one is led

1. Jarret, II. p. 145.
2. J.A S.B. (NS.) VII. pp. 615 ff.
3. E.I. XIV. pp. 328 ff.
4. *Ibid.* II. pp. 350.

to suppose that Varendrī or North Bengal was the paternal kingdom of the Pālas. But Tāranātha[1] informs us that Gopāla was born at Pundravardhana (in North Bengal), and was elected king in Bhengala, which may be Vaṅga or East Bengal, or Vaṅgāla (South-East Bengal). In the Gwalior inscription[2] Nāgabhaṭa is reported to have defeated the *Vaṅgapati*. This *Vaṅgapati* is certainly Dharmapāla. R. C. Majumdar,[3] relying on the confused account of Tāranātha, believes that Gopāla was a native of Northern Bengal, but was elected king over the dominion of the Chandra king in Vaṅgāla, to the east of the Brahmaputra. The learned scholar observes that "it may be presumed that the original kingdom of the Pālas is also to be located in the region where Govīchandra ruled." Besides the doubtful character of the authority of Tāranātha, scholars are very much divided as to whether Vaṅga and Vangāla were two different geographical entities. The easy victory of Vatsarāja over the king of Gauda, referred to in the Wani plates,[4] certainly alludes to Vatsarāja's victory over a Pāla king, Dharmapāla or Gopāla. From the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsa[5] we learn that Dhruva had defeated a king of Gauda, who was certainly a Pāla king Therefore even in quite early times, the Pālas were sometimes mentioned as kings of Gauda, and sometimes as kings of Vaṅga. In view of such uncertainty it is risky to assert that the original kingdom of the Pālas were in North Bengal, or East Bengal or South-East Bengal. What is certain is that it was somewhere in Bengal.

Achievements of Gopāla.

Whatever may have been the ancestry or the ancestral home or the paternal kingdom of the Pālas, there is no denying the fact that Gopāla laid the firm foundations of the future great-

1. I.A. IV. pp. 366.
2. E.I. XVIII, pp 110 ff.
4 I.H.Q. XVI. pp 219 ff.
4. I.A. XI. pp. 156 ff.
5. E.I. XVIII. pp. 245 ff.

ness of the Pala empire He put an end to the anarchy prevailing in the country. The state of '*matsyanyaya*' or 'the law of fishes',—the larger one devouring the smaller,—is referred to in the Khalimpur inscription,[1] and it is specifically mentioned that Gopāla was elected king to put an end to this intolerable situation The anarchy in the eastern provinces is also alluded to by Taranātha "In Odivisa, in Bhengala, and the other five provinces of the east, each Ksatriya, Brāhmana and Vaiśya (merchant) constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country."[2] The author then relates the mythical story how a wife of one of the late kings assassinated every one of the kings chosen by the people, but after a certain number of years, Gopāla was elected king for a time, delivered himself from her, and was made king for life.[3] Thus the account of Tāranātha agrees in the main with the inscriptional evidence. Thus it is clear that Gopāla was a chosen leader of the people and he put an end to the state of lawlessness prevailing in the kingdom.

According to Taranātha,[4] "Gopāla began to reign in Bengal and afterwards reduced Magadha also under his power." He is also credited with the foundation of the Nālandā *vihāra* not far from Oddantapuri (modern town of Bihar). Bu-Ston[5] states that Gopāla "obtained the royal power over the whole country by the force of his virtues and built the monastery of Nalendra." On account of the fact that the conquest of Magadha is not explicitly referred to in the Pāla inscriptions, which refer to Gopāla in general terms, R. C Majumdar[6] hesitates to attribute the conquest of Magadha to Gopāla. It may be pointed out that Gauda and Magadha from the 7th century

1. E.I. IV. pp. 251.
2. I.A IV. pp 243 ff
3. *Ibid* pp 366.
4. IA. IV. pp 366,
5. Bu-Ston, *op cit* pp. 156 Dr. S C. Sarkar (I C VII p. 183) distinguishes between Nālanda and Nalendra *viharas* built by Gopāla. According to the learned scholar, it was Narendravihara (king's monastery) and its name probably survives in the Narinda ward of the city of Dacca. But according to Tāranātha it was not far away from oddantapuri (Biharsharif).
6. H B.R.I p. 103

onwards had become politically so closely intertwined that they were sometimes not considered separate at all. The *Gauḍa-tantra* referred to in many places in the M. M. K., included Magadha. The conquest of Bengal appears to have automatically led to the addition of Maga dha. After the death of Jīvitagupta II we do not know of any independent ruler of Magadha. It should be obvious that the anarchy, referred to by Tāranātha and the Khalimpur inscription, was not confined to parts of Bengal, but pervaded Magadha as well. The establishment of order and security by Gopāla benefited Magadha too. The fact that Gopāla's son Dharmapāla could emerge as a keen competitor with the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for the paramountcy of Northern India further strengthens the point that Gopāla was a great conqueror, and he might have established his rule over the whole of Bengal, including the sea-coast, and Aṅga and Magadha (South Bihar). On the basis of the following verse "*jitvā yah kāmakāri prabhavaṁ-abhibhavaṁ śāśvatīm prāpa śāntim sa śrī mān lokanātho jayati dasabalonyaścha Gopāladevah,*" occurring in the Bhagalpur inscription of Nārāyanapāla,[1] it has been held by Muhammad Shahidullah[2] that Gopāla defeated a king of Kāmarūpa. The above epithets are applied to both the Buddha and Gopāla, and the obvious meaning is that Gopāla defeated his enemies, who acted as they desired. There is not even an iota of evidence to believe in Gopāla's conquest of Kāmarūpa. His grandson Devapāla is credited with the achievement of victory over the king of Prāgjyotiṣa.[3]

Gopāla was a successful king both as a conqueror and administrator. He is referred to as the 'type of well-conducted king,' and as 'having carried on his beneficent rule,' in such a successful measure that 'even kings like Pṛithu and Sagara came to be believed in.'[4] Gopāla laid the foundations of the em-

1. E.I. XV. pp. 304 ff.
2. I.H.Q. VII. pp. 531 ff.
3. I.A. XV. pp. 304 ff.
4. I.A. XXI. p. 253 ff. (Verse 4).

pire, on which a grand superstructure was raised by Dharmapāla and Devapāla Gopāla was a Buddhist, and in the inscription of Nārāyanapāla[1] he is compared to the Buddha. Tāranātha[2] credits him with the foundation of the *Nalendra* Temple near Oddantapura But Gopāla tolerated other religions as well. The M. M. K. informs us that he "will become the maker of *vihāras*, *chaityas*, gardens, reservoirs, beautiful free hotels, bridges, *deva* temples and caves."[3] This shows that he was a benevolent ruler and was interested in the welfare of the people.

The Date of Gopāla.

According to Tāranātha,[4] Gopāla ruled for 45 years. The Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa[5] credits him with a reign of twenty-seven years, having died on the Ganges at the age of eighty. In view of the fact that both Dharmapāla and Devapāla are known to have had long reigns, it appears that the M. M. K. is nearer the truth than Tāranātha, and we may assign roughly a reign of about 25 to 27 years to Gopāla.

Let us try to fix the chronological limits of Gopāla's regnal period. His son Dharmapāla was definitely a contemporary of Govinda III,[6] whose period is 794-814 A. D. Dharmapāla was also a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, whose known date is 815 A. D.[7] In 783 A. D.,[8] according to Jinasena, Vatsarāja, the glorious ruler of Avanti, was ruling over the east, Indrā-

1. *Ibid*, XV. pp. 304 ff.
2. *Ibid* IV. pp. 366
3. I.H.I V. 683-90
4. I.A IV. pp. 366.
5. I.H.I p 42.
6. E.I. XVIII pp. 245 ff.
7. *Ibid*. IX. pp. 198 ff.
8. I.A. XV. pp 141. *Śakeṣvabdaśateṣu saptasu diśam pañchottareṣūttarām*
Pātīndrāyudhanāmni (mni) kṛṣṇanṛpaje śrīvallabha dakṣiṇam
Purvām śrī madavantī (nti) bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādi rājai (je) parām
Souryāṇamadhimaṇḍalam jayayute Vīre varāhe (he) vati (ti).
Fleet (I A XV. pp 141-2) had translated the passage to mean that in 783-84 A.D , Indrayudha was ruling in the north, Śrī Vallabha in the south, Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti in the east, and in the west in the territory of the Sauryas, Varaha or Jayavarāha was the king. D. R. Bhandar-

yudha was ruling over the north, Śrī Vallabha son of king Kṛṣṇarāja was governing the south, and Varāha was ruling over the kingdom of the Sauryas in the west.' Śrī Vallabha may be Govinda II or Dhruva[1] Indrāyudha has been identified with Indrarāja of Kanauj, who was defeated by Dharmapāla[2] If this identification is accepted,[3] as has been generally done, then it is clear that Dharmapāla must have defeated and dethroned Indrarāja after 783 A.D., when he is mentioned as ruling in the north. Vatsarāja is said to have defeated the king of Gauda[4] and was himself worsted by Dhruva in *Cir*. 789 A.D.[5] It has been generally assumed that the Gauda king defeated by Vatsaraja was Dharmapala According to Altekar,[6] the Gauda king "*could not have been Gopala, for the latter is not* known to have sent any expedition outside the province of Bengal." Gopāla, who had made himself the popular ruler of Bengal and South Bihar, may have been encouraged to extend further west, and a clash with the Gurjara Pratihāras is possible. However, as we know that Dharmapāla's army was operating in the Doab, it is more likely that the Gauda adver-

ker at first objected to this translation and took Vatsarāja to be the king of the west, *different from the king of Avanti in the east* Many *scholars*, like R P Chanda, S Konow (E I XII pp 200) Smith (J R A S 1909, p 253), and Bannerji (M A S B V pp 500) accepted the opinion of Bhandarkar But Dr Bhandarkar has now accepted the translation of Fleet in toto (E I XVIII, pp 239) The question is again reopened by Dasaratha Sharma (A.B O R I, XVIII, pp 390 ff) We have followed Fleet

1. R A P 52 R G Bhandarkar definitely indentified Śrī Vallabha of the Verse with Govinda II (Bomb Gaz I, Pt II pp 197) Fleet took *him to be Govinda III (Ibid pp 392, note 1), and concluded that Govinda* II did not reign (E I VI. pp 172, Bomb Gaz I pt. II pp. 393) But D R Bhandarkar (J. B B R A S XX pp 131 ff) and A S Altekar (R A. pp 48 49 note 1) have shown that Govinda II did reign though for a short time However it is more reasonable to identify Śrī Vallabha of the Harivamśa with Dhruva who is known by other records to be a contemporary of Vatsaraja. This appears to be confirmed by an unpublished grant of Dhruva, lying in the treasury of Bhor, which is dated in Śaka 702, i.e. 780-81 A D and is issued by Dhruva Dharavarṣa (R A Addenda, pp 421)

2 I A XV, pp 304, *Ibid*. XX pp. 187-88 E.I IV, p. 246

3 R. C Majumdar (J L X. p 137, note 2) identified Indrarāja of Kanauj defeated by Dharmapala with Indrarāja, a brother of Govinda III.

4 I.A XI pp 156 ff

5 R A p 57

6. R.A. pp. 56 57.

sary of Vatsarāja was Dharmapāla, rather than Gopāla. Vatsarāja's victory over Dharmapāla, therefore, must have happened before 789 A D Consolidation of the kingdom, conquest of Magadha and establishment of a sound basis of administration must have taken some time for Gopāla, and therefore it is not proper to assign him 'a very short reign,' as R. D. Bannerji[1] has suggested His regnal period may be fixed, with tolerable certainty, to be *Cir.* 756-783. A. D.[2].

1. M A.S B. V, p. 47.

2. Muhammad Shahidullah fixes the period of Gopāla's reign from 715 to 760 A. D. (I.H Q. VII, pp 530 536) J C Ghosh (*Ibid* VII, pp 751-3) takes him to be a contemporary of Bhāskaravarman, king of Assam, on the ground that a Gopala is mentioned as "an issuer of hundred commands and the receiver of five great sounds" in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman The opinion is hardly worth serious consideration it is too early a period for Gopāla Later on J. C Ghosh appears to have changed his view and makes Dharmapāla ascend the throne in 761 A D. (I.H Q. IX, pp. 489). Shahidulla's view on Pāla chronology has been shown to be utterly untenable (B C Sen, *op. cit.* pp. 308); but Sen's identification of Gopāla with Jayanta is unlikely.

CHAPTER XII

DHARMAPĀLA, *Cir.* 783-818 A. D.

Gopāla was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla. Tāranātha's[1] statement that Devapāla was the son of Gopāla cannot be accepted in view of the clear epigraghic evidence[2] that Dharmapāla was the son of Gopāla. According to Bu-ston[3] also, Dharmapāla was born of the queen of Gopāla and a Nāga king.

Dharmapāla-Vatsarāja-Dhruva

When Dharmapāla came to the throne, the stage was completely set for the tripartite struggle between the Pratīhāras, the Rāstrakūṭas and the Pālas for the possession of the hegemony of Northern India. Vatsarāja, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king, scored a victory over the Pālas. From the Radhanpur plates[4] we learn that Vatsarāja had won two white umbrellas from the Gauḍa king (Dharmapāla), and these were in turn captured by Dhruva, who drove Vatsarāja into the Maru country. It is not necessary to assume that Vatsarāja advanced into Bengal from Central India. It is more probable that both the Pratīhāras from the west and the Pālas from the east were extending their influence with the similar motive to acquire the mastery over Northern India and possess the imperial city of Kanauj, then under Indrāyudha, a weaker ruler in comparison to the ambitious Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla. The result was an inevitable clash between the Pālas and the Pratīhāras away from their home provinces, somewhere near Allahabad. This was a prelude to the more deadly conflicts in the offing; but in the first round the Pālas were worsted, and Vatsarāja [illegible]

1. I.A. IV. pp. 366.
2. E I. IV. pp. 251.
3. Bu-Ston *op. .t*, Pt. II. pp. 156.
4. E.I. VI. pp. 239 ff.

of having with ease appropriated the royalty of Gauda," and carried away two white umbrellas of the Gauda king. But the Pratihara victory proved to be ephemeral The Rastrakūtas, who had become the predominant power in the Deccan, emerged as keen competitors for the trophy—the control of the North-Indian plains

The real motive guiding the competitive policy of the Palas, the Pratihāras and the Rāstrakūtas was economic. The Gangetic valley, including the Doab, was rich in resources and was an economic unit Through it passad the main trade routes down the Ganges to different parts of the country, even to foreign lands It was, therefore, natural for any great power of the North or the South to aim at controlling the main trade-routes of the country, and Kanauj, because of its central position, occupied from the 6th century onwards the commanding position. The consequence of this was an intermittent struggle between powers of the North and the South to push out others from this rich and strategically vital part of the country, and to establish monopolistic control over this area with its trade-routes. When the Palas and the Pratihāras entered the arena of conflict with dogged determination they found a powerful intruder in the Rāstrakūtas of Mālkhed. Dhruva, the Rāstrakūta king, who followod Govinda II,[1] snatched away the fruits of victory from the grip of Vatsarāja Dhruva defeated him, captured the two white umbrellas of the ruler of Gauda, which Vatsarāja had taken away by force from him,[2] and drove Vatsarāja into the desert of Maru (Marwar) Dhruva's victory over Vatsaraja may have taken place in 789 A. D., and therefore the success of Vatsarāja against the Gauda king, i e Dharmapala, should be placed earlier, say in *cir* 785 6 A. D

The defeat of Vatsarāja and his retreat into the deserts of Rajputana encouraged Dharmapāla to realise his imperial ambition. He appears to have advanced into the Doab, but

1 R A. pp 48 49
2 E I. IV. pp 248 ff

he had not calculated the strength and ambition of Dhruva, and the result was the first clash between the Pālas and the Rāstrakūtas, in which the Pāla king Dharmapāla suffered a rebuff We know from the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa[1] that the defeat of the Gauda king by Dhruva took place in the Gangetic-Yamunā Doab In these plates, Dhruva is said to have "seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of the Laksmī of the Gauda king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Yamunā "[2] The campaign of Dhruva in the Gangetic Valley is indirectly alluded to in the Surat and Baroda plates of Karka Suvarnavarsa According to Altekar[3] the expression, "*Gangaugha—santati—nirodha—vivriddha—kīrtih*" occurring in verse 25 of the Surat plates of Karkarāja Suvarnavarsa[4] and used to describe both Dhruva and Śiva, "clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gangas and possibly also over the Palas and the Pratihāras " The Baroda grant of Karka Suvarnavarsa refers to Dhruva "as the personification of fame, who taking from his enemies the Gangā and the Yamunā,

1. E I XVIII pp. 235 ff

2 "*Ganga yamunayormmadhye rajño Gaudasya naśyatah I Lakṣmi Lilaravindāni svetachhchhatrani yo harei*" Prinsep (JASB, 1839 p 30) wrongly interpreted the verse to mean that Dhruva immersed himself "at the junction of the waters of the Ganga and the Yamuna " It is to be noted that while in other inscriptions, Dhruva is said to have seized from Vatsaraja the two umbrellas of State belonging to (the king of) Gauḍa (E I VI, pp 248 ff), the Sanjan plates refer to the capture of white umbrellas by Dhruva from the Gauda king who was fleeing between the Ganges and the Yamunā B. C Sen (*op cit* p 319) thinks that the verse refers to the same struggle mentioned in the stereotyped draft of the inscriptions of Govinda III. D. R Bhandarkar suggested that after the defeat of Vatsaraja by Dhruva, Dharmapala may have made common cause with the ruler of Kanauj against Dhruva, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Gauḍa king (E.I XVIII p 239). There is no reason to believe that Vatsaraja was a king of Kanauj, and the hypothesis that Dharmapāla joined Vatsaraja against Dhruva is improbable The most reasonable explanation appears to be that Vatsaraja had defeated the king of Gauḍa and took away the umbrellas, the insignia of sovereignty Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja and snatched away these white umbrellas. Dharmapala tried to take advantage of the discomfiture of his adversary Vatsaraja and advanced into the Doab, but was worsted by Dhruva, who captured the umbrellas—the banners of the Raja Lakṣmi of the Gauḍas—from Dharmapala who was retreating to his kingdom from the battle in the Doab. Thus Dharmapala was defeated both by Vatsaraja and Dhruva

3. E I XXI pp. 133 ff. The editors differ from this interpretation

4. *Ibid.*

charming with their wave, acquired at the same time the supreme position of lordship (which was indicated by (these rivers) in the form of a visible sign."[1] Therefore it may be accepted that Dhruva defeated both Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla and became the paramount ruler of Northern India by making himself master of the Doab. The Raṣṭrakūtas by 790 A D were supreme in Northern India and the dreams of the Pālas and the Pratiharas were shattered. In the first round of the tripartite struggle, Dharmapāla lost to Vatsarāja and Dhruva. But, as usual, the Southern power failed to reap the harvest, and Dhruva had to retire to the South It is worth noting that though different powers belonging to the south of the Vindhyas have attempted in different periods of history to build up an all-India empire from their base in the Deccan, they have failed to maintain any permanent or durable hold on North India and have been forced to draw back into their homes, south of the Vindhyas The Sātavāhana dominion in the north was very short-lived, the Vākataka empire in the north, suggested by Jayasval, has been shown to be a myth the Chālukya raids into Northern India led to no permanent acquisition of territory. The Rāstrakūtas' debut in Northern India, though persistent and causing violent changes in the North-Indian political setup, failed in its ultimate aim of establishing paramountcy. The Maraṭhas in the 18th and 19th centuries made many attempts to that effect, and achieved some success, but it is clear that they did not prove empire-builders.

Conquest of Dharmapala

The retirement of Dhruva to the Deccan and the discomfiture of the Pratiharas, who had not yet recovered from the shock of the defeat sustained at the hands of the Rastrakūtas, gave to Dharmapala the much sought-for opportunity to realise his imperial ambitions From the Khalimpur copper-plate

1 I.A XII p 159 Fleet took the verse to refer to Govinda III. Majumdar (JL X. p 35, note 2) rightly showed that it refers to Dhruva.

inscription of Dharmapāla[1] we learn that he made himself entitled to coronation as emperor of Kānyakubja, to the delight of the elders of Pañchāla and with the acquiescence of the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra kings, but Dharmapāla, instead, installed on the throne the king of Kānyakubja.[2] The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla adds very valuable information We are told that "Dharmapāla acquired the sovereignty of Mahodaya by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, and he gave it back to the suppliant Chakrāyudha as Bali had given the sovereignty of the three worlds, which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies, to the begging Chakrāyudha (Viṣṇu) who had descended to the earth as a dwarf"[3] Kielhorn rightly pointed out the historical allusion in the verse, and suggested that as Visnu was the younger brother of Indra, so Chakrāyudha may have been a younger brother of Indrarāja.[4] This Indrarāja has been identified with Indrāyudha,[5] who was ruling, according to Jinasena, in the north in 783-84 A D.[6] The confirmation of the close alliance between Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha comes from the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa,[7] which inform us that both Dharma (Dharmapāla) and Chakra (Chakrāyudha) voluntarily submitted to Govinda III. From the Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhoja[8] we learn that Chakrāyudha's "lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others," Chakrāyudha depended on Dharmapala

1. E I IV pp 251 ff The inscription is dated in the 32nd regnal year of Dharmapala, but the events referred to belong to much earlier period of the reign In the 32nd year, Dharmapala was still the paramount ruler of Northern India and therefore earlier events of glorious success have been mentioned in a triumphant note

2 E I IV. p 252, D R Bhandarkar (E I VII pp 26 ff.) has suggested a slight emendation of the otherwise unintelligible verse

3. I A XV pp. 304 ff

4 *Ibid* XX pp 187 ff

5 M A S B V. p 50, E I VI p 197, D R Bhandarkar identified this Indraraja with the Raṣṭrakuṭa king Indra II (E I VII p 32) But the identification is clearly untenable because Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Govinda III Majumdar (JL. X. p 37, note 2) identified Indraraja with Indraraja an younger *brother of Govinda* III

6 I A. XV p 141

7 E I XVIII pp 233 ff.

8 *Ibid* pp. 110 ff

bar coast. N. N. Das Gupta[1] placed it in Nepal, and Majumdar[2] supported him. But it may be pointed out that if the story of the Udayasundarīkathā about one Dharmapāla, lord of Uttarāpatha,[3] is taken to refer to the Pāla king, then Dharmapāla may have led a campaign to the Western Coast and gone on a pilgrimage to Gokarṇa in Karnāṭak. If the Yavanas of the Khalimpur plate are the Arabs of the Indus Valley, Dharmapāla's push into Valabhi is not impossible. The Karnātas and the Lātas are mentioned among royal officers in the Nālandā inscription of Dharmapāla.[4] Brahmins of Lāta are referred to in the Khalimpur inscription.[4a] If Kedāranātha is in the north, and Gangāsāgara in the east, it is more logical to assume that Gokarna in the west would mark the western limits of Dharmapāla's expedition.

Dharmapāla, thus, succeeded in establishing himself as the paramount ruler of Northern India. Soddhala, a Gujrat poet of the 11th century, refers to him as '*uttarāpatha-svāmi*'[5] His empire extended from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east, from the Himālayas in the north to Central India and probably even up to Berar in the south. It touched the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. His authority over Northern Bengal is attested by Tāranātha,[6] who observes that in the time of Dharmapāla lived Dhiman and his son Vītpala in Varendra. A Nepal MSS. mentions king (nripa) Dharmapāla of Varendra as able in government.[7] It is true that all the distant parts of the country were not merged in the Pāla dominions and administered directly by Dharmapāla. The conquered territories were left in charge of the local rulers, who acknowledged the suzerainty of Dharmapāla. The

1. I C IV. pp. 264 ff
2. H B.R I pp. 106 7 (note 2).
3. A.B O R I. XII pp. 197 ff.
4. E I. XXIII. pp 290 ff (4a) E.I. IV. p. 251. Udayasundri-kathā p. 4 *Utta ā pathasvami*
5. A.B.O.B I. XIII pp. 197 ff.
6. I.A. IV. pp. 102.
7. A catalogue of Palf leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal—by M. M. H. P Sastri—page 134. No. 1608 chha.

Thus it is obvious that Dharmapāla became the real master of Kanauj, and installed his protege Chakrāyudha on the throne as a vassal ruler. Dharmapāla after the acquisition of the imperial city of Kanauj appears to have held a *durbar* where he was formally recognised as overlord by the Bhoja, Matsya, Yadu, Avanti, Madra, Kuru, Yavana, Gandhāra and Kira kings, and he installed Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj From the Monghyr copper plate of Devapaladeva[1] we learn that in the course of expeditions, the soldiers of Dharmapala bathed at Kedara, and where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and performed the holy rites at Gokarna and other sacred shrines

The extent of Dharmapala's sphere of influence can be examined with reference to the evidences supplied by the Khalimpur and Monghyr copper-plates Gandhāra, Madra and Kira constitute the Punjab and some parts of the North-West frontier The kingdom of Kira has been placed by Majumdar[2] in the neighbourhood of Jallandhur The Yadus may belong to Mathurā or Dvārakā region or may be identified with the Yadavas of Simhapura in the Punjab[3] Matsya constituted the territories of Alwar with parts of Jaipur and Bharatpur states Avanti stands for Malwa, and it appears that the Gurjara king of Avanti may have acknowledged Dharmapala's overlordship. The Bhojas may be placed in Berar, and the Yavanas of the inscription may be located in the Indus Valley or in the North-West Kedara was the famous Kedāranatha in the Himālayas, and the confluence of the Ganges and the Sea was probably Gangasagara in Southern Bengal. There is some controversy about the situation of Gokarna of the Monghyr copper plate Kielhorn[4] identified it with Gokarna in the North Kanara district of Bombay Presidency H P Sastri[5] placed it on the Mala-

1 I A XXI pp 253 ff
2 I H Q IX pp 11 ff
3. H B R I p 108
4 I A XXI p 259 (note 6).
5 M A S B III p 5

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1. I C IV pp 264 ff
2 H B R I pp 106 7 (note 2)
3 A B O R I XII pp 197 ff
4 E I XXIII pp 290 ff (4a) E I IV p 251. Udayasundri katha p. 4 *Utta a-pathasvami*
5 A B O R I XIII pp 197 ff.
6. I.A IV. pp 102
7 A catalogue of Palf leaf and selected paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal—by M. M. H P Sastri—page 134 No. 1608 chha.

nature of his conquests may be compared with the *digvijaya* of Samudra Gupta in the Deccan, We get a clear notion of the nature of Dharmapala's conquests from the Monghyr copper plate We are told that 'when he (Dharmapala) had completed the conquest of the regions, he released the princes (he had made captive), and they (were) made to forget all their distress by the various great honours shown to them, and having returned to his own country, (he) pondered upon his generous deeds and their hearts were fondly looking for him '[1] Dharmapala followed the example of his illustrious predecessor Samudra Gupta and satisfied himself with the recognition of his sovereignty by the vanquished kings whom he treated generously so as to win their gratitude and promise of loyalty in adverse times As a far sighted statesman he realised the streng th of localism prevalent in the country and did not attempt the impossible task of establishing a completely unitary and centralised state The establishment of the Pala hegemony in Northern India must have been accomplished between the retirement of Dhruva from the North in 790 91 A D, and the invasion of Northern India by Govinda III in the closing years of the 8th century

Marriage of Dharmapala

From the Monghyr copper plate of Devapaladeva[2] we learn that Dharmapala had married Rannadevi, the daughter of of Parabala the ornament of the Rastrakuta race The Pathri pillar inscription dated (Vikrama) Samvat 917 (=860 861 A D)[3] reveals the existence of a Parabala, an ornament of the Rastrakuta family ruling in Central India Kielhorn[4] identified this Parabala with Parabala, the father in law of

1 I A XXI pp 253 ff
2 I A XXI pp 253 ff
3 E I IX pp 248 ff A S I A R 1908 9 p 116
4 E I IX pp 251 At first Kielhorn had conjectured that Parabala father in law of Dharmapāla was Govinda III on the ground that Gopala may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century when Govinda III lived (I A XXI p 254) Gopala flourished much earlier

Dharmapāla. This identification has been rejected by Altekar[1] and Majumdar.[2] Fleet[3] thought that Govinda III may have had another name, Parabala; Majumdar[4] thinks it "very likely that the Parabala of the Monghyr plate belonged to the well-known Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of the Deccan." We know of numerous epithets of Govinda III and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of 'the well-known dynasty of the Deccan,' but so far no one is known as '*Parabala*.' The only objection that can be raised against Kielhorn's proposed identification is that Parabala was alive in 861 A. D., and "the reign of Dharmapāla had ended about 50 years, at least, before that year, and therefore he could not have been Parabala's son-in-law."[5] But this is not an unsurmountable objection. Dharmapāla may have married Raṇṇādevī in about 798 A. D. at the age of about 45,—not a very advanced age for marriage. Parabala could have lived for about 100 years in 861 A.D.. The Chandella ruler Dhaṅga[6] lived for more than one hundred years. Prabhāvatīguptā, the Vākāṭaka queen, lived for more than a hundred years.[7] Gopāla lived for 80 years.[8] '*Pra*' of the MMK. lived for 94 years.[9]

It may be suggested that Dharmapāla in course of his campaigns in Central India[10] came into contact with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Parabala. To offest any renewal of hostilities by the Pratihāras and at the same time to gain the support of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in times of duress, Dharmapāla may have foreseen distinct political advantages in a matrimonial alliance with him. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala could not have refused the overtures of the great emperor Dharmapāla; indeed Parabala may have felt himself honoured by the prospect. Devapāla, the son of Raṇṇādevī and Dharmapāla, may

1. R.A. p. 55, (note 12.)
2. H.B.R.I. p. 114, (note 2).
3. Bomb. Gaz. I. pt. II. p. 394.
4. H.B.R.I. p. 114.
5. R.A. p. 55, (note 19).
6. E.I. I. p. 139.
7. J.P.A.S.B. XX (N.S.) p. 53; J.A.S.B L. XII pp. 1 ff.
8. I.H.I. p. 44.
9. *Ibid.* p. 66.
10. E.I. IV pp. 251 ff.

have been born in 799-800 A. D. Devapāla was certainly not the eldest son of Dharmapāla, as the dūtaka of the Khalimpur grant, dated in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla's reign, is not Devapāla, but Yuvarāja Trilochanapāla,[1] who appears to have predeceased his father. Devapāla must have been comparatively young at the time of his accession. The suspicion is strengthened by the internal evidence of the Badal pillar-inscription of Nārāyanapāla.[2] We find that the victories of the time of Devapāla are credited to the hereditary ministerial family, Darbhapāni and his grandson Kedāramiśra. As both the grandfather and the grandson served Devapāla, it is very likely that Devapāla came to the throne at a young age. It is possible that as Devapāla was quite young in age and inexperienced, the real weight of administration fell to the lot of the ministerial family. It may have been during the early years of young Devapālas' rule that Nāgabhaṭa II recovered Kanauj, some time about 815 A. D.. Thus 'it is not impossible for Dharmapāla to marry a daughter of Parabala,'[3] who was alive in 861 A. D.

Dharmapāla and Nāgabhaṭa II

Dharmapāla had soon to defend his imperial title and position The Gurjara-Pratīhāras under Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, made a determined bid to regain their lost glory and reclaim the imperial honour from the Pālas and their protege. He appears to have made necessary preparations before challenging his powerful adversaries. The Gwaliar *Praśasti* of Bhoja[4] informs us that "the kings of Āndhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga submitted to his (Nāgabhaṭa's) youthful energy as moths do unto fire." Majumdar[5] has rightly pointed out the significance of the simile 'as moths do unto fire,' and has suggested that "*as moths are by themselves attracted to the*

1. E.I. IV pp. 251 ff.
2. E.I. II pp 160 ff
3. M.A.S.B. III. p. 5.
4. E.I. XVIII pp. 110 ff.
5. J.L. X pp. 38-39.

fire, so the four above-mentioned kingdoms voluntarily joined Nāgabhata and ultimately they lost their power."

"The position of these four countries confirms this view. Joined to Avanti and the Gurjara states of Rajputana, they form a central belt right across the country bound in the north by the empire of the Pālas, and in the south by that of the Rāstrakūṭas. It appears, therefore, to be quite likely that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from two sides, although as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the allies to a state of absolute dependence."[1]

Thus protecting himself from an attack from the south, Nāgabhata with the increased resources of his confederacy marched, at first, against Chakrāyudha and defeated him. This defeat of Chakrāyudha is referred to in the Gwaliar inscription of Bhoja. This Chakrāyudha is undoubtedly the same man who was installed on the throne of Kanauj by Dharmapāla.[2] This is confirmed by the Gwaliar inscription, wherein Chakrāyudha is described as one 'whose low state was manifest by his dependence on another (or others).'[3] We have already seen that Chakrāyudha depended on Dharmapāla for his position. Bannerji[4] concluded that 'it is evident that Dharmapāla tried his best to support his protege, and 'in so doing he must have suffered reverse at the hands of the Gurjara king.' The Gwaliar *praśasti* of Bhoja refers to a terrible contest between the king of Vanga and Nāgabhaṭa. The inscription speaks of Nāgabhaṭa "as having vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vanga who appeared like a mass of dark dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses, and chariots; Nāgabhaṭa, as the sun, alone reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness."[5] The *Vaṅgapati* is certainly Dharmapāla.

1. *Ibid.*
2. I A. XV. pp. 304 ff.
3. E I. XVII pp 110 ff A S.I.A.R. 1903-4, pp. 277 ff.
4. M A S B V. p. 51.
5. E.I. XVIII. pp. 110 ff.

It was only after Nāgabhaṭa defeated the Pāla emperor that the sun of the Pratīhāra glory could shine in the sky. The Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka dated (V) S. 894 (=837-38) informs us that Kakka, the father of Bāuka, 'acquired fame by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri '[1] Majumdar[2] has rightly suggested that Kakka was a feudatory of Nāgabhata II and may have accompanied the latter in his campaign against the Pāla emperor, Dharmapāla.

From the Una plates of Balavarman dated in Valabhi Samvat 574 (=893-94 A D),[3] we learn that he was a feudatory of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Mahendrāyudhadeva.* From the Una plates of Avanivarman II,[4] son of Balavarman, we know that Avanivarman was also a feudatory of Mahendrapāla. From this very inscription we learn that Avanivarman's great-grandfather Vāhukadhavala defeated Dharma and conquered kings who were well-known as *Rājādhiraja* and *Parameśvara.* Kielhorn[5] held that Dharma was certainly Dharmapāla, and Vāhukadhavala was a contemporary of Bhoja. It is more reasonable to make Vāhukadhavala a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, who was the great-grandfather of Mahendrapāla, whose feudatory was Avanivarman, the great-grandson of Vāhukadhavala. The Chātsu inscription of Bālāditya[6] informs us that Śankaragana defeated Bhaṭa, the king of Gauda, and Harsarāja, son of Śankaragana, presented horses to Bhoja. Bhandarkar took Bhata to be a proper name and identified him with Sūrapāla I of the Pāla dynasty. Majumdar translated '*Bhata*' as a great-warrior and took the passage to mean that Sankaragana defeated the king of Gauda,

1. J R A S. 1894 pp. 1 ff, E.I. XVIII pp. 87 ff P.L. Paul (E H.B.P. I, p 40 note 1) thinks that the inscription is dated not in Vs. 894 but in Samvat 4. Devi Prasad had also dated the inscription in year 940, Kielhorn in year 4 (J.R.A S. 1894, p. 9), Bhandarkar (A S I.A.R. 1906-7 p 30) read it as Samvat 894, and it is accepted by Majumdar (E I. XVIII p. 89).
2 J L. X p 40.
3. E.I IX p. 1.
4 *Ibid.* p 2.
5. *Ibid.* p. 3
6. *Ibid* XII pp 10 ff.

a great warrior. The learned scholar[1] rightly pointed out that Śankaragana must have been a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II, whom he must have accompanied in his campaign against Dharmapāla, the king of Gauda; otherwise it is hard to believe that a petty Guhilot chief like Śankaragana would by himself defeat the king of Gauda, who was certainly Dharmapāla All this points to the inevitable conclusion that Nāgabhata, supported by his feudatories, defeated Dharmapāla[2] The victory over Dharmapāla, the imperial lord of Northern India, made Nāgabhata supreme over large parts of Northern India He followed that up by forcible 'seizure of the hill forts of kings of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuska, Vatsa and Matsya' This is mentioned immediately after the reference to Nāgabhata's victory over the king of Vanga (Dharmapāla) in the Gwaliar *Praśasti* of Bhoja. If this list is compared with the list of kings who submitted to Dharmapāla and recognised the accession of Chakrāyudha, as known from the Khalimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla,[3] it will be clear that

1. J L. X pp 40 41, note

2 Tripathi (T. K pp 233-35) holds that Nāgabhaṭa defeated Dharmapāla after the return of Govinda III from his North-Indian expedition But it is hardly possible for Nāgabhaṭa, who appears to have been severely defeated by Govinda III, to have completely recovered his power immediately after Govinda's return, and begun his offensive against Dharmapala That the discomfiture of the Gurjara king was complete is clear from the Radhanpur inscription, wherein it is stated that the Gurjara king 'in fear vanished nobody knew whither so that even in a dream he might not see battle' (E.I VI p 239, Vs. 27-28). The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa also refers to Govinda's 'carrying away the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nagabhaṭa and Chandragupta,' and Govinda is discribed as being 'the destruction to valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras' (E I XVIII pp 253 54, Vs 22 and 32) These verses suggest *thunder* and the *fair and unshakable fame* of Nāgabhaṭa, and also his complete defeat at the hands of Govinda III We know that Vatsarāja, the father of Nāgabhaṭa II, was severely defeated by Dhruva Therefore the 'fair and unshakable fame' of Nāgabhaṭa must have been built upon some solid achievement Nāgabhata must have earned his claim to be valorous 'head of the thundering Gurjaras'

Such laudatory references in the records of the enemies certainly prove that Nagabhaṭa had defeated some great power like the the great Pala emperor, and as a consequence had won 'fair and unshakable fame,' and was at the head of the proud and arrogant Gurjaras dizzy with success Therefore we reject the opinion of Tripathi (T K pp 233 35) and Sen (*op cit*. pp 323-24) that the contest between Nāgabhaṭa and Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha happened after the campaign of Govinda III in the North.

3. E I IV pp 251 ff.

Nagabhata succeeded to the imperial position of Dharmapāla '*Matsya*' is common to both the inscriptions. Turuṣka of the Gwaliar inscription may mean the same people as the Yavanas of the Khalimpur plate, Mālava and Avanti may refer to the same territory Vatsa stands for the territory whose capital was Kauśāmbī, identified with the village Kosam near Allahabad, and must have been under Dharmapala Therefore, it is apparent that Nāgabhata's authority was recognised by some of the very peoples who had formerly paid homage to Dharmapala The king of Kirāta, who was defeated by Nāgabhata, may have been a king of Nepal,[1] or of some Himālayan state Thus Nagabhata's influence reached up to the foot of the Himālayas Dharmapāla was humiliated, his vassals had changed allegiance, his protege was defeated and his empire was reduced The battle against Dharmapāla may have been fought near Monghyr in *Cir* 797 A. D.

Campaign of Govinda III

Providentially for the Palas, just at this time, the Rāstrakūtas reappeared on the scene Govinda III, after successfully crushing the rebellion at home and establishing his authority in his kingdom, planned a vigorous campaign into Northern India The revival of the Pratihāra power, defeated by his father Dhruva, could not have been welcome to Govinda III. Nāgabhata's alliance with the powers situated on the extensive northern frontier of the Rāstrakūta dominion must have alarmed Govinda The success of the Pratihāras over the Pālas made the former the unquestioned paramount power in Northern India This could not be without concern to Govinda III, who himself entertained imperial ambition to bring North India under his subjection

From the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa,[2] we learn that Govinda III defeated Nagabhata and obtained the voluntary

1. Levi, Le Nepal II pp 77 78 J R A S 1909 pp 257 ff
2 E I XVIII pp ff '*Svayamevopanatau cha yasya mahatastau Dharma Chakrayudhau*'

submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. N N. Das-Gupta[1] strongly urged that Govinda III had defeated Dharmapāla in a battle, and the latter was defeated by Nāgabhata II after that We do not however find his arguments convincing, and so prefer Majumdar's translation of the disputed passage of the Gwaliar *Praśasti* When Govinda III marched towards the north, Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, recently vanquished by Nāgabhata II, were not in a position to oppose the Rāstrakūta king. *Realpolitik* may have induced Dharmapāla to welcome the Rāṣtrakūta invasion, as it would certainly engage his powerful enemy, Nāgabhata. It is possible that Parabala, the Rāstrakūta chief and the father-in-law of Dharmapāla, may have played some part in bringing about the alliance between the Pāla king and Govinda III. It may be, though it is by no means certain, that the suggestion of R. D Bannerji[2] that 'defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II, Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha sought the help of Govinda III," is quite near the truth. It can hardly be questioned that when Govinda III attacked Nāgabhata II, Dharmapāla wisely avoided any conflict with the Rāstrakūta king, believing that after the Rāṣtrakūta raid was over, and Nagabhata was crushed and his territories overrun, he (Dharmapāla) would get an opportunity to reassert his claim to supremacy over Northern India The most important result of Govinda III's campaign in the North was the defeat

1 J B O R.S XII pp 361 ff N N Das Gupta thinks that the use of the word '*mahataḥ*' in relation to Govinda III, and reference to submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrayudha prove that Dharmapāla was defeated in a battle by Govinda III He draws support from the Nilgund inscription, where the fettering of the Gauḍas by Govinda III is mentioned. Verse 10 of the Gwaliar *praśasti* of Bhoja has been interpreted by the Das Gupta to mean that 'the chariots, horses and elephants' which caused terrible darkness, belonged to an enemy of the Vangapati, not to the Vangapati himself, and the enemy was Govinda III

In our humble opinion the verse in question has been rather twisted to bear a meaning not intended by the author The force of the phrase '*svayamevopanatau*' is clearly voluntary submission without risking a war, otherwise the word '*svayam*' would become meaningless if the submission was a consequence of a military defeat The word '*mahataḥ*' as an adjective of Govinda III, does not necessarily prove his victory over Dharmapāla in a battlefield

2. M A.S B V p 51

of the Gurjara king, 'who vanished no body knew where' The Gurjara king defeated by Govinda III was Nāgabhata II, who is specifically mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa [1]

What is the approximate date of the defeat of Nāgabhata and the submission of Dharmapāla? On the ground that the defeat of the Gurjara is mentioned in the Radhanpur plates dated in July 808 A. D,[2] but omitted in the Wani grant 807-8 A D,[3] learned scholars[4] presumed that the defeat of Nagabhata and possibly also the submission of Dharmapāla must have happened between these two dates Altekar[5] held that the attack of Govinda III on Nāgabhata II may have taken place 'some time in 806 or 807 A D'.

But the recent discovery of some inscriptions suggests modification in the long accepted chronology of Govinda III's campaigns The stereotyped draft, which is found in the Radhanpur plates dated in 808-9 A D.,[6] including the reference to the defeat of the Gurjara king, and which is repeated in later documents such as in the Mandala plate of Govinda III, dated in Sake 732 (=810-11 A D),[7] is not found in the Paithan plates of 794 95 A D,[8] and in the Anjanavati plates of Govinda III dated in June 800 A D[9] None of these last mentioned plates refers to even the rebellion of Stambha The Wani-Dindori[10] plates, dated in 807-8 A.D, mention all the celebrated events of Govinda III's reign except the defeat of the Gurjara king and the humiliation of the king of Vengi (?) But the Sasvani plates[11] of the year 807 A D and earlier than the

1 E.I XVIII pp 245 ff
2 E I. VI pp 239 ff
3. I.A XI pp ff
4. Fleet *Ibid* pp 165 7 Note I, Majumdar R C., J L X p 44, Tripathi, R S., T K pp 231 2 B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* p 298
5 R A p 65
6. E.I VI p 239
7 B I.S M Q. XVI, No 4 pp 27 ff.
8 E.I III pp 103 ff.
9. *Ibid* XXIII p 8
10 I.A. XI pp. 256 ff.
11 E.I XXIII pp. 204 ff

Wani Dindori inscription contain the identical draft known from the Radhanpur plates and including therein the mention of the defeat of the Gurjara king The same draft, including the reference to the Gurjara king, occurs in the Nesari grant[1] dated the 21st Dec 805 A D Altekar[1a] takes the date to be Jan 806 A D, and holds that "Govinda gained all his victories including that on the Gurjara king before 806 A D" But it appears that the date is to be shifted still earlier. The first set of Manne Plates of Ranavaloka Stambha,[2] elder brother of Govinda III, contains, in the main, the stereotyped draft about the conquests of Govinda III—there are references to Govinda III's success over the rebellion of twelve kings, release and reimprisonment of the Ganga king, defeat of the Gurjara king, submission of the king of Malava, campaign on the ridges of the Vindhya mountains, presents from Mara Śarva, stay at Śribhavana during the rainy season, advance to the Tungabhadrā, resubmission of the Pallava king, and the discomfiture of the ruler of Vengi It is, therefore, obvious that all the victories of Govinda III were achieved before Nov 802 A D, the date of the first set of the Manne Plates The fact that none of these achievements is mentioned in the Anjanavati plates dated June 800 A D,[3] may lead one to presume that either all the conquests of Govinda III happened between June 800 and Nov 802 A D, or the Manne Plates are forged Mirashi,[4] after discussing the subject threadbare, concluded that "there are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Manne Plates of Sake 724 to be genuine, all the important conquests of Govinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign" The non-mention of any of these achievements in the Anjanavati plates should not be taken to mean that the years 794 800 A D were uneventful

1 G Khare—Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol I, p 13, E I XXIII pp 216 ff
1a D R Bhandarkar Volume pp 153 ff
2 Ep Carn IX No 61
3 E I XXIII pp 8 ff
4 *Ibid* pp 213 17

and all these conquests happened between June 800 and No 802 A. D.. What actually may have happened was th Govinda was very busy from 794 onwards in wars against h brother aided by twelve kings, war against the Gaṅga king, an his expedition in Northern India. These campaigns were ov probably just before the Anjanavati plates were issued, an therefore there was hardly any time to engage a scribe to pr pare a new draft to include all the recent conquests of Govind Soon after he had to lead an expedition against the Souther kings, which was over by the middle of 802 A. D , and a ne draft was prepared. Govinda's brother Stambha, who had bee pardoned and appointed Governor of Gaṅgavadi, had to u the new draft prepared by a court poet of Govinda III. Th explains why the first known occurrence of the stereotype draft is to be found in the Manne Plates of Stambha.[1] Alteka tried to prove that though the plates were genuine they wer not issued in the Śaka year 724 but in Śaka year 730 73 when the permission of Govinda was obtained.[2] His argumen are :—(a) the irregularity in the date, which he explains b imagining that the grant was promised in the year 724 Śaka, bu the permission of Govinda was obtained in Śaka 730, and b that time the exact month of the year, when the grant was pro mised, was forgotten and so, while the year of the promise wa remembered and put down, the month mentioned was of th year when the permission was obtained; (b) the charter in it spirit and expression is more akin to a charter of Govinda II than that of Stambha, whose defeat also is mentioned in Verse 1 of the plates, and therefore Stambha appears to have been force to incorporate the relevant draft into the charter; (c) it i unlikely that the draft which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his elder brother who was erstwhile a rebel; (d) for the first time the draft was used by Govinda in his Nesari plate

1. *Ibid.*
2. E.I. XXIII p. 293; D. R. Bhandarkar Volume pp. 153 ff.

of the Śaka year 727. Mirashi[1] has squarely met all these objections :—(a) the irregularity in date may be explained by postulating a delay of four days rather of 6 or 7 years; the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th Nov 802 A. D., the plates were issued on the 17th Nov. when the moon was in conjunction with aseterism Puṣya; thus the delay of four days is not unique: the 2nd set of Manne Plates (Q. J. M. S. XIV pp. 82 ff.) were issued two days later than the grant was made; (b) why should Stambha have waited for 6 or 7 years to get the permission of Govinda, and certainly why after Śaka 727, when the draft was used in one of Govinda III's grants (Nesari plates) ?; (c) it is true that the draft was prepared by a court poet of Govinda III and may have been forced on Stambha, but it is equally possible that it may have been used in some of the grants of Govinda himself, which are not yet known to us; it is also possible that as Stambha was issuing a grant at a time which coincided with the completion of the conquests of Govinda, the draft was prepared at the imperial court and hurriedly sent to Stambha to be incorporated in his charter; (d) it is not impossible that Govinda won all his victories in the North and the South within six years of his reign; Indra III defeated enemies in the North and in the South within three years, and Karna had vanquished powerful enemies within seven years. Thus it may be granted that the Northern expedition of Govinda III has to be dated between *Cir.* 799 and 801 A. D.

The name of Nāgabhaṭa, as an enemy of Govinda III, is mentioned for the first time in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa.[2] The same record tells us of the march of Govinda's army to the foot of the Himālayas, and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. There is no reference to Govinda's victory over Dharmapāla in any of his inscriptions, which contain the stereotyped account of his conquests—including

1. E I. XXIII pp. 295-97.
2. E I. XVII pp. 245 ff.

that over the Gurjara king, whose name is not mentioned in these records Altekar,[1] therefore, suggested that Govinda fought the Northern powers twice on the first occasion he repulsed an attack of the Gurjara king (Nagabhaṭa) and this is what is described in laudatory terms in his inscriptions, on the second occasion, after he was free from his preoccupation in the south, he marched towards the north with the aggressive ambition of conquest some time after 808—9 A. D , and on this occasion he defeated Nagabhata, pursued him, reached the foot of the Himalayas and obtained the submission of Dharmapala This later campaign must have taken about two years, and *on his return he had to wage war against the Dravidian kings in Cir* 812 A D , and as he died in 814 A D he had no time to engage a scribe to describe his grand victorious campaign in the north Therefore, these events were first described in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa The arguments advanced by Dr Altekar are not convincing. The non-mention of the names of Nagabhata and Dharmapala, and the march of Govinda III to the foot of the Himālayas, in Govinda's inscriptions should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that these events happened after 810-811 A D , about four years later than the stereotyped draft is first known to have been used in the inscriptions of Govinda III *Argumentum ex silentio* is after all a deceptive reasoning The Wani-Dindori plates of Govinda III, dated in the year 807-8 A D , do not refer to Govinda's victory over the Gurjara king, but the fact is mentioned in the Sisvani, the Nesari and the first set of Manne Plates—all earlier than the Wani-Dindori plates The way in which the defeat of the Gurjara king is mentioned in the inscriptions of Govinda III does not suggest that it was the Gurjara king who took the offensive, as believed by the learned scholar The verse, translated, runs thus —"As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which having quickly placed its bees on bana and asana flowers, enhances the

1 D. R Bhandarkar Volume pp 153 ff

beauty of the bandhujīva flower and favours the growth of day lotus, so the Gurjara—on seeing how he (Govinda), who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper and was favoured by increase of fortune and before whom warriors desponded, had *come near*, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in dream he might not see battle."[1]

The phrase "as the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn," and the expression that when "he (Govinda III) had come near," clearly show that Govinda had marched against the Gurjara king and not *vice versa* The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa also refer to the same idea: here Govinda III is described as '*carrying away* in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta.'[2] According to Altekar himself, the campaign in Northern India was over before 810-11 A. D., and Govinda died in 814 A. D. Therefore, there was enough time left to Govinda to engage a scribe to prepare a draft to eulogize his victorious march to the North up to the foot of the Himālayas in course of which he defeated Nāgabhaṭa and reduced Dharmapāla to submission—both the great kings of Northern India. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa contain a chronological account of the campaign of Govinda III.[3] Here the activities are referred to in the following order —reinstatement of some of tha feudatories, release of the Gaṅga king, disaffection of vassal kings, rebellion and suppression of a confederacy of twelve kings led by Stambha, reimprisonment of the Gaṅga king, defeat of Nāgabhata and Chandragupta, victorious march to the North to the springs at the foot of the Himālayas, submission of Dharma and Chakrāyudha, return to the Narmadā, turning to the east, conquest of Mālava, Kosala, Kaliṅga, Veṅgi (?), Dāhala and Odraka; following the other part (western) of the river, encampment in a capital of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhyas under

1. E I. VI p. 250.
2. *Ibid.* XVIII pp 235 ff.
3. *Ibid.*

Mahārāja Śarva, *the birth of Amoghavarṣa, march against the* Draviḍa kings and the conquest of Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Chaulika (Chola) and Pallava. From this fairly detailed account of Govinda's campaigns we get absolutely no hint of more than one campaign in the North. From the account given in the Sanjan plates, it is clear that Govinda's stay in the capital of Mahārāja Śarva at the foot of the Vindhyas happened after Govinda's return from the campaign in the North, when he had defeated Nāgabhaṭa, marched to the foot of the Himālayas and received the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha. The *Mandaleśa Mahārāja* Śarva of these plates has been rightly identified with the king (*Mahīpati*) Mārā Śarva, who "having heard through his spies that his (Govinda III's) camp was pitched on the ridges of the Vindhyan mountains and apprehending that he was moving towards his own country, quickly went to conciliate his mind by chosen heirlooms,"[1] and at whose capital (Śrībhavana) Govinda spent his rainy season, during which sojourn a son was born to him. These events are mentioned in the stereotyped draft of Govinda's inscriptions, and also in the first set of Manne Plates dated Śaka 724 i.e. 802 A. D.[2] This leads to the logical inference that Govinda's expedition to the North, which preceded his stay in the capital of Mahārāja Śarva, must have happened before 802 A D, immediately after the issue of the Anjanavati plates in June 800 A. D..[3] It is true that the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, and Govinda's army's march to the foot of the Himālayas are not mentioned in the known inscriptions of Govinda. But because of this it is not safe to assert that these events must have happened in the later years of Govinda, at least after the stereotyped draft was made. The victory of the Chālukya king Vinayāditya over the Pallavas, Kalabhras, and others, was regarded as having occurred between his eleventh and fourteenth regnal years, as it was not mentioned in the

1. E.I. VI p. 250.
2. Ep. Carn. IX No. 61.
3. E.I. XXIII pp. 8 ff.

grant of the 11th year, but is mentioned in the grant of the 14th year. But the discovery of the Jejuri plates,[1] dated in the Śaka year 609, makes it clear that the event must have happened at least in the 9th year of his reign. Therefore, it is not unlikely that some new inscription of Govinda may come to light which may refer to the submission of Dharmapāla and the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army to the water-springs of the Himālayas. Mirashi[2] has pointed out that "we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was prepared though it has been used in as many as eleven charters, it is well known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases.... we cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Govinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha and others—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared." Another probable alternative explanation of the non-mention of Dharmapāla's submission to Govinda in his grants may be that, as the account refers to the glorious victories won by Govinda III in wars, the voluntary submission of Dharmapāla was not considered to be as important an event in the time of Govinda, as it was in the time of Amoghavarṣa.

The discussion leads us back to the question whether Govinda III had defeated Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha in battle. At the present state of our knowledge it is hardly safe to assume the defeat of Dharmapāla in battle by Govinda. None of the inscriptions which referred to the defeat of the Gurjara kings, mentioned the defeat of Dharmapāla by Govinda. On the other hand the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa clearly state that kings Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha surrendered of themselves.[3] Before the mention of Dharmapāla's submission, the inscription refers to the defeat of Chandragupta and Nāgabhaṭa and Govinda's march to the foot of the Himālayas, "the

1. E.I. XIX pp. 62 ff.
2. Ibid. XXIII. pp. 296-7
3. E.I. XVIII pp. 235 ff. V. 2;

water of whose springs was drunk by his horses" As the *account is chronological in nature, the conclusion appears to* be that after his victory over Nagabhata, Govinda marched to the foot of the Himalayas probably in pursuit of Nagabhata, who, in other inscriptions, is said to "have vanished nobody knows where [1] Nagabhata, who had defeated Dharmapala whose authority was recognised up to the Himalayas in the North, may have extended his sphere of influence to the foot of the Himalayas From the Gwalior *prasasti* of Bhoja,[2] we learn that one of the fortresses seized by Nagabhata belonged to the king of Kirata, and Kirata was certainly a Himalayan state, probably Nepal It may be that either in the H malayan *region or during Govinda s return journey thence, Dharmapala* and Chakrayudha voluntarily offered homage to Govinda It may be that Nagabhata was finally defeated in the Doab, and the reference to the soldiers of Govinda III bathing in the Himalayan springs and their noise leading to the resounding of the Himalayas is ' merely poetic, and the armies of Govinda III may not have marched beyond the Ganges—Yamuna Doab ' [3] Even if the Sanjan plates record a genuine historical event, it *is likely that Govinda may have taken advantage of* his stay in the North to pay a visit to the sacred place— the source of the Ganges Even conceding that it was in course of his military campaign that his army reached the Himalayas, it is not necessary to imagine that it could be possible *only after the defeat of Dharmapala* as N N Das-Gupta[4] would lead us to believe Dharmapala and Chakrayudha were already defeated by Nagabhaṭa II, and therefore Govinda's march to the North up to the Himalayas was *directly against the then paramount ruler of Northern India,* Nagabhata, and not Dharmapala who was suffering from the humiliation of defeat and loss of territory It may be that

1 E I VI pp 239 ff
2 E.I XVIII pp 110 ff
3 R A p 66 (note 52)
4 *J B O R S XII* pp 361 ff

because Dharmapāla was not a great ruler at the time of Govinda's triumphant march to the North, he (Dharmapala) is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Govinda The voluntary nature of Dharmapala's submission to Govinda as against the defeat of the Gurjara king in battle is clearly hinted at in another verse of the Sanjan plates

In verse 32, while Govinda III is referred to as 'destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras,' we read that "the kings of Magadha and Kalinga were made to sit and fast to death "[1] The editor[2] points out that '*Prayasaka*' means fasting to death with some objective The king of Magadha, then, was certainly Dharmapala This strengthens the suggestion that Dharmapala waited upon Govinda to secure his valuable alliance V 24 of the same record refers to the return of Govinda to the bank of the Narmada, and that marching along the eastern bank of the river, he acquired the countries of Kosala, Kalinga and Vanga Now verse 32 refers to the king of Magadha, who was certainly Dharmapala The Vangapati[3] defeated by Nagabhata was certainly Dharmapala Therefore, if verse 24 of the Sanjan plates refers to the acquisition of Vanga, this was possible only at the expense of Dharmapala It is not clear why in the same record Dharmapala should be referred to separately as king of Magadha and of Vanga. The editors of the journal suggested that in place of Vanga in V 24, one should read Vegi or Vengi, the Andhra kingdom The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsa I, dated in 866 A. D ,[4] informs us that Govinda III fettered the people of Kerala, Malava and Gauda, together with the Gurjaras who dwelt on the hill-fort of Chitrakuta N N Das Gupta[5] sees in this statement a clear confirmation of his thesis that Govinda III had defeated Dharmapala and Cha-

1 E I XVIII pp 235 ff
2 *Ibid* p 254
3 *Ibid* pp 110 ff
4 E I VI pp 98 ff
5 J B.O R S XII pp 361 ff

krayudha in battle and their submission was a consequence of military defeat. H. C. Ray[1] holds that the inscription shows that the alliance between the Rastrakūtas and the Pālas, hinted at in the Sanjan plates, was short lived. This view is hardly tenable. The Sanjan plates[2] are dated in 871-2 A. D., and the Nilgund inscription[3] is dated in 866 A. D. It is not easy to explain why the two inscriptions should refer to two separate successive events without mentioning both of them, when the alleged events happened much earlier. The reasonable explanation is that what was considered not very important in the time of Govinda III was given undue weight in the time of Amoghavarṣa, and the voluntary submission of Dharmapāla, the king of Magadha, Gauda and Vanga, was described as fettering of these peoples by Govinda III in the records of Amoghavarsa I.

Thus in the present state of our knowledge the only positive thing about the relationship between Dharmapāla and Govinda is that Dharmapāla voluntarily submitted to Govinda III, and this is the only incident which has been differently referred to in the inscriptions of Amoghavarsa. This submission of Dharmapāla to Govinda could not have been later than 800 A. D.

Restoration of Dharmapala's imperial position

Govinda's campaign in the North was of the nature of a *digvijaya*. He crushed, at least for the time being, the Gurjara Pratihāras and returned to the south. Probably the only positive addition to the Rāṣtrakūta empire was the province of Malwa.[4] The person who gained most from the Northern expedition of Govinda was Dharmapāla, who must have taken advantage of the eclipse of his rival Nagabhata, and re-established his authority as a paramount power in Northern India.

1. D H N I. I, p. 292.
2. E I. XVIII pp. 235 ff.
3. Ibid, VI pp. 98 ff.
4. R.A., p. 67.

The Khalimpur copper-plate inscription,[1] dated in the 32nd year of the reign of Dharmapāla, is couched in a spirit of triumphant and prosperous imperialism, and Pātaliputra is described in pompous phrases befitting the capital of a rich and extensive empire. In the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla,[2] we are told that "Devapāla inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles as a Bodhisattva attains the status of a Buddha." Therefore, it should be taken as granted that Dharmapāla left his empire intact to his son and successor Devapāla, and that his last years were peaceful [3]

An Estimate of Dharmapāla

Dharmapāla was a great conqueror. He established an extensive empire in the teeth of bitter opposition. He was a clever diplomat. Reverses did not daunt him. He was always ready to face judicious advantage of the changing situation. He voluntarily submitted to the invader Govinda, when he (Dharmapāla) foresaw that prudence is the better part of valour. Dharmapāla was a real empire-builder, who

1. E I IV pp 251 ff.
2. I A XXI pp 253 ff
3 Because of the defective chronology adopted by him Dr B C. Sen (*op cit.* pp 338-39), the learned scholar, believed that "Dharmapāla began well but the end of his reign saw the undoing of his principal work abroad, and he lost to Nagabhaṭa a large part of his territories and his vassal allies in the closing years of his reign." N N Das Gupta (J B O R S XII pp 361 ff) also held that "the last days of Dharmapāla could not be happy or prosperous, for two great invasions, one after another, certainly much debilitated his strength and power," and "it is possible that he did not long outlive his defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II." We have already shown that the defeat of Dharmapala by Nāgabhaṭa II happened long before the closing years of Dharmapāla's reign, and that there is no evidence of an invasion by the Rāṣṭrakuṭas of the territories of Dharmapāla It is true that in the Bodh-Gaya inscriptions of the 26th year of Dharmapala (J.A. S B (NS) IV pp 102 ff.) he is referred to without any imperial title But this does not necessarily show that Dharmapāla was not an emperor in his 26th year. The Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla clearly shows that Dharmapāla left his empire free from troubles. N.N. Das Gupta thinks that it has no bearing on the achievement of Dharmapāla at all Devapāla inherited a kingdom free from troubles because the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were in trouble. This is hardly convincing. The comparison with Bodhisattva and Buddha, and the succession to the kingdom after Dharmapāla clearly show that Devapāla's inheritance of the kingdom free from troubles was due to Dharmapāla

knew when to wage war and when to conciliate his defeated enemies. His real merit was that he knew the limitations of his conquest and exercise of his power—a virtue very rare in great conquerors of ancient and modern times. The Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla refers to him as one "who was the only refuge of those kings, who approached him fearing the destruction of their party," and "who was always eager to keep within the bounds (*maryādā*), and whose majesty possessed the coquettish smile of the milk-ocean "[1]

Dharmapāla is the first Pāla king to assume full imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, his father is referred to simply as *Mahārājādhirāja*[2] He was an able administrator, and his popularity is specifically mentioned in the Khalimpur copper-plate inscription. The Bhagalpur copper-plate inscription[3] refers to him as an imposer of 'just terms' (*samakarah*) and as 'being able to bear the burden (of the rule) of the earth.'

Dharmapāla was a Buddhist. He is described as '*Paramasaugata*' in his own inscriptions[4] as well as in those of his successors.[5] He is credited with the foundation of the Vikramaśilā monastery, which was one of the most important Buddhist seats of learning in India from the 9th to the 12th centuries A D. Cunningham[6] had suggested Silao near Rājagriha as the site of the ancient monastery. S C Vidyabhushana[7] located it at Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district in Bihar. A. P. Bannerji Sastri[8] placed it at Kewr, just behind the south-west corner of the Hilsa police-station in Patna district N. L. Dey,[9] after thoroughly discussing the subject, came to the conclusion that the Vikramaśilā *vihāra* was situated at Pātharghāṭā,

1. I.A. XV. p 307
2. E.I. IV pp 251 ff, *Ibid* XXIII pp 290 ff, *Ibid* XXI pp 253 ff
3. I.A. XV pp 307 ff.
4. E.I IV p 307 V. 2.
5. I A. XXI pp 253 ff.
6. C.A.S R VIII p 13
7. Pravasi, 1315, B.s.
8. J B O R S XV p 263
9. J.A.S.B V. (N.S.) pp. 1 ff.

which is six miles to the north of Colgong, 24 miles to the east of Bhagalpur. This identification has been generally accepted. Dharmapāla founded the Somapura *Vihāra* in Varendrī : recent archaeological excavations have proved that Paharpur in Rajshahi district of Bengal was the ancient site of the famous monastery.[1] Some of the seals discovered here bore the inscription that the Somapura *Vihāra* was of (founded by) Dharmapāla.[2] An inscription incised on the rim of a sculptured *stūpa* bearing a number of seated Buddha figuers carved on it has been found at Nālandā and they belong to the time when "the illustrious Dharmapāla of wide fame was the king."[3]

Though Dharmapāla was a Buddhist, he did not persecute other religions of the land. His Khalimpur inscription[4] speaks of him as honouring all the sects, especially the Brāhmaṇas. Four villages were granted to the temple of N (u) nna—Nārāyaṇa.[5] Dharmapāla's scrupulous regard for the rules of caste is mentioned in the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla.[6] He is described as 'conversant with the precepts of the *śastras*,' and as having "made the castes conform to their proper tenets." The Bodh Gaya inscription[7] refers to the consecration of an image of four-faced Mahādeva in Champaśāyatana. A Ms. of the Haricharita Kāvya by Chaturbhuja refers to a grant of a village in Varendra to one of his ancestors, Suvarnarakṣa, by *nṛipa* Dharmapāla. The donor was a Brahmin, well versed in Śruti, Smṛiti and the Purāṇas.[8] According to H. P. Sastri,[9] Dharmapāla's liberal attitude towards Brahmanism was due to the influence of his Hindu wife Raṇṇādevī, who

1. A.S.I.A R. 1927-28, pp. 138-39.
2. *Ibid.*
3. M.A.S.I. No. 66. pp. 85-87.
4. E.I. IV pp. 243 ff.
5. *Ibid.* p. 254. The deity may be *Nanna-Nārāyaṇa* (*Ibid.* note 3).
6. I.A. XXI pp 253 ff.
7. J A.S.B. IV (NS.) p. 102.
8. Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library of Nepal, p. 134.
9. M.A.S.B. III. p. 6.

was a daughter of Parabala, a Rāṣtrakūta chief who erected a Vaisnava temple at Paithan We have three inscriptions of the time of Dharmapala A votive inscription recording the erection of a four-faced Mahādeva at Champaśāyatana by one Kesava of Mahabodhi is dated in the 26th year of Dharmapala[1] A copper-plate grant by *Paramesvara Paramabhaṭṭaraka Maharājādhiraja* Dharmapala has been found at Nalandā, the dated portion is damagad[2] The village granted lay in the Gaya *Visaya* in Nagarabhukti The Khalimpur copper-plate,[3] found in Maldah district of Bengal, is dated in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla's reign. According to Taranātha,[4] Dharmapāla ruled for 64 years. This appears to be a long period. We assign him a rule of 35 years.

Date of Dharmapāla

According to Cunningham,[5] the accession of Dharmapāla took place in 831 A D Bhandarkar[6] had once suggested that Dharmapāla may be placed in the earlier part of the 10th century. But such speculations have been proved to be fanciful. Dharmapāla was a contemporary of Indrarāja, who is most probably Indrayudha,[7] referred to as ruling in the north in 783 A D, according to Jinasena[8] The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa[9] definitely make Dharmapāla, Nāgabhata II and Govinda III contemporaries The last known date of Nagabhata II is 815 A D from the Buchkala inscription.[10] Govinda III came to the throne between April 793 and May 794 A D, and died in the first half of 814 A D[11] Therefore Dharma-

1 J.A S B IV (N S) pp 102
2 E I XXIII pp 290 ff
3 *Ibid* IV pp 245 ff
4 I A IV pp 366
5 C A S R. XV pp. 150
6. E I VII p 33
7 I A XV pp 304 ff, *Ibid* XX pp. 189
8 I A. XV pp 141
9 E I XVIII pp 235 ff.
10 *Ibid* IX pp 198.
11. R A pp 58 59, 71.

pāla must have flourished during the last quarter of the 8th and the early part of the 9th century A. D. His regnal period may have extended from *Cir.* 783 to 818 A. D.[8]

8. Sen (*op. cit* pp 328 9) suggests that the Tipperah plates of Lokanātha (E.I. XV pp 304) belong to the time of Dharmapāla, and are dated in the 44th year of his reign The arguments advanced in support of this contention are not convincing (*see supra*).

CHAPTER XIII

DEVAPĀLA

Dharmapāla was succeeded by his son Devapāla. He was not, perhaps, the eldest son of his father, as in the Khalimpur copper-plate[1] Trilochanapāla was the *yuvarāja* and *dūtaka* Trilochanapāla appears to have predeceased his father, and so the throne passed on to his younger brother Devapāla, who may have been comparatively young when he came to the throne. This must have encouraged the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, and it is possible that Nāgabhata II retrieved his lost fortunes [2] But Devapāla had not only inherited the empire of Dharmapāla, but also his high qualities. Devapāla was well-served by his cousin (?) Jayapāla and a distinguished line of hereditary ministers. His reign is the high-water mark of the Pāla imperialism; fresh laurels were added to the glory of Pāla arms. *He and his advisers rightly thought that the best way to defend* and maintain the extensive empire was to exhibit aggressive

1. E.I IV pp 243 ff

2. Tripathi (Γ. K pp. 233-35) has suggested that Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Dharmapala and Chakrāyudha after Govinda III had gone back to the Deccan. We have already shown that Nagabhaṭa's success against Dharmapala is to be placed earlier than Govinda's invasion of the North. Tripathi identified Nāgavaloka, king of Kanauj, according to the Jaina work Prabhāvakacharita, with Nāgabhaṭa II Nagāvaloka, *the grandfather* of Bhoja, is said to have occupied Kanauj and died soon after. The identification may be accepted. K S Aiyangar, (J B.B R.A.S III N. S pp. 101 ff.) on the basis of Bappa-Bhaṭṭicharita, identifies Nāgāvaloka with a son of Yaśovarman. It is difficult to base any conclusion on such works of very doubtful historical value. Nāgāvaloka is said to have died in 833 A. D. If he is Nāgabhaṭa II, whose last known date is 815 A. D. (Buchkala inscription, E.I. IX pp. 198 ff.), it is possible that he may have conquered Kanauj in *Cir* 818-9 A. D, immediately after the death of Dharmapāla. His death in 833 A. D. would leave hardly three years of reign for his son Rāmabhadra, as the earliest known date of Bhoja is 836 A. D.. Nāgabhaṭa's *occupation of the province of* Kanauj may also be *inferred from the* Barāha copper-plate of Bhojadeva (E.I. XIX pp. 15 ff.), which informs us of Nāgabhaṭa's approval of a grant of a village in Kālañjaramaṇḍala of Kānyakubjabhukti.

designs to provoke fear in the hearts of ambitious vassals and to bring prospective enemies under subjection

Conquests of Devapāla.

The Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla[1] states that in the course of a military campaign, the army of Devapāla reached the Vindhyan forest and Kāmboja.[2] The Badal pillar-inscription of the time of Nārāyanapāla[3] adds valuable information regarding this. From it we learn that the minister Vīradeva, who had made Dharma (Dharmapāla) the regent of the east and sovereign over all the regions, had a son Darbhapāni. "By his (Darbhapāni's) policy, the fortunate king Devapāla made tributary the east as far as the Revā's parents (Vindhya mountains), as far as Gaurī's father (the Himālayas), and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun."[4] Another verse of the same inscription gives some details about the conquests. M. M. H P. Sastri[5] had taken the verse under discussion to refer to Śūrapāla, the next king after Devapāla Kielhorn[6] and R D. Bannerji[7] rightly pointed out that the verse is connected with Devapāla. It contains the valuable information that "attending to his (Kedāramiśra's) wise counsel, the Lord of Gauda ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the

1. I.A. XXI pp 255 ff

2. There is a controversy about the location of Kāmboja in the Pāla records. From the inscriptions of Aśoka we know of the Kāmbojas living on the North-West frontier of India. Kāmboja of the Monghyr plate may refer to this part of the country, but it may also stand for Tibet (H.B.R.I. Appendix II pp. 190-91). It is not impossible that the mountainous region, north of the Gangetic plains, may have felt the weight of Devapala's arms From Tibetan sources we learn that kings Khri-srong lda-btsan, and his son Mu-tig-btsan-po subdued India, and Raja Dharmapāla, king of India, submitted. Another Tibetan king Ral-pa-can (*Cir.* 817 836 A. D.), is said to have conquered India as far as Gangāsāgara (J.G.I.S. VIII pp. 92 ff.) It is not beyond the realm of possibility that when Dharmapāla was defeated by Nāgabhata II, the Tibetan king may have also scored a victory over the Pala king. Later on, Devapāla may have defeated the Tibetans.

3. E.I. II pp. 165 ff.

4. *Ibid.*

5. M.A.S.B. III p. 8.

6. E.I. II. pp. 165 ff.

7. M.A.S.B. V. p. 58.

Hunas and scattered the conceit of the rulers of the Dravidas and the Gurjaras [1]

There is hardly any good reason to dismiss the description of Devapala's conquests as 'mere bombast'[2] The Rastrakutas, immediately after the death of Govinda and during the early years of the reign of Amoghavarsa I, were engrossed in internal troubles,[3] and Amoghavarsa had neither the time nor the inclination to take energetic part in the politics of Northern India [4] Ramabhadra who had succeeded to the Pratihara throne after the death of his father Nagabhata II, was a weak king, and during his short reign the fortunes of the Pratiharas sank low From the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva dated V S 893 (=836-37 A D)[5] we know that the grant of the *agrahara*, called Valakagrahara which lay in the Udumbara *Visaya* of the Kalanjaramandala in the Kanyakubjabhukti, was approved by Nagabhata, but 'was for *some time* obstructed through the incapacity of a legal officer during the reign of *Maharaja Ramabhadradeva*,' and "the above mentioned *agrahara* together with all the income has been given by me (Bhoja) after having rejected the obstruction (of the grant) which had lasted *for some time*"[6] Another grant in Gurjaratrabhukti, originally made by Vatsaraja and renewed by Nagabhata II, had fallen into disuse as noticed by Bhoja [7]

Thus it is obvious that both the Gurjara Pratiharas after the death of Nagabhata II, and the Rastrakutas after Govinda III were involved in troubles. This was a good opportunity

1 E.I II p 165
2 E I II pp 165 ff T. K p 240
3 R A pp 71 77
4 *Ibid* p 77
5 E.I XIX pp. 15 ff
6 *Ibid* *Maharaja Nagabhatadevanumata iha dr stva bhagancha Maharaja sri Ramabhadradeva rajye vyavaharino Va gunyat kinch kalamo hatam jnatva maya pitro punyabhivriddhaye*

7 E I V p 208 Kielhorn read the date as 100 and assigned it to the Harsa era But D R Bhandarkar (J B B R A S XXI p 411) showed that the correct date is 900 and should be assigned to the Vikrama era Hoernle (J R A S 1904 p 64) was convinced that Mr Bhandarkar's readings are correct Majumdar suggests that the inscription shows that the province was lost in the time of Ramabhadra. (E I XVIII p 106)

for the Pālas under Devapāla, assisted by a family of able ministers, to score fresh triumphs and even to extend their influence over lands so far free from the scent of Pāla imperialism. The fact that no victory is ascribed to Rāmabhadra in the Pratihāra inscriptions is significant. The Gwāliar *Praśasti* of Bhoja refers to Rāmabhadra as one "who had no desire for the world."[1] We are further told that he had "the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge." This appears to be a veiled reference of an invasion by some powerful enemy. R. C. Majumdar[2] may be right in suggesting that the enemies were the Pālas, and Devapāla defeated Rāmabhadra.

It is not necessary to assume that as a result of this defeat, Rāmabhadra lost his kingdom. He appears to have bowed down before the storm. The Hūṇas, defeated by Devapāla, may have been living in the North-West, where we find them in the Harṣa-Charita;[3] or they might have been settled in Mālwa, as there is a reference to Hūnamaṇḍala in Malwa in inscriptions.[4] In view of the fact that Devapāla is credited with having penetrated into South India, it may not be an improbable guess that the Hūṇas referred to in the Badal pillar-inscription may have been living in Central India. From the Nālandā metal image-inscription of Devapāla, belonging to the 3rd year of his reign, we learn of one 'Kalachuri-antaka' and his wife living in a village in *Rājagṛihaviṣaya*. 'Kalachuri-antaka' does not appear to be a proper name, and it may mean that the donatrix's husband was a great warrior, who may have routed the Kalachuris before the third year of the reign of Devapāla.[5] This further strengthens our suspicion about his push into Central India and south of the Vindhyas. From the Bhagalpur

1. E.I. XVIII pp. 108 ff.
2. J.L. X. p. 47.
3. H. C. (CT.) p. 132.
4. E.I. XXIII p. 102; *Ibid.* I p. 223; I.A. XVI p. 156.
5. M.A.S.I. No. 66 p. 87. The Editor (K. N. Dikshit) reads 'Kala-churi-Anu (ka) Ka,' instead of Kalachuri-antakeka, read by H. Sastri.

plate we learn that the king of Prāgjyotisa submitted to Jayapāla (a cousin of Devapāla) when Jayapāla was on a conquering expedition.[1] Prāgjyotisa is an ancient name of Kāmarūpa.[2] The Badal pillar-inscription[3] informs us that the Utkalas were exterminated. Tāranātha[4] also speaks of the conquest of Odivisa (Orissa) by Devapāla. The Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla[5] refers to the submission of the Utkala king to Jayapāla.

There is a mention of a '*Kara*' dynasty in Orissa in inscriptions. Mahārāja Subhakaradeva is the third member of this dynasty, and an inscription belonging to the 8th year of his reign has been found.[6] Sylvain Levi[7] has identified him with the king of Wu-ch'a "who does what is pure," who sent an embassy to the emperor of China in 795 A. D.. The king of Orissa, who suffered defeat at the hands of the Pāla army, may have been Śivakara II, who was a son of Śubhakara, and who bore imperial titles.[8] Who was the Lord of the Draviḍas whose pride was 'brought low'? Altekar[9] identified him with Amoghavarsa I, though he regarded Nārāyanapāla to be the victor. It is quite possible that, taking advantage of the uneasy years of the earlier part of Amoghavarsa's reign, Devapāla may have scored some triumph over the Rāṣṭrakūtas. The subjugation of Osissa and the push through the Vindhyas may have been part of the same strategy against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas But the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa[10] refer to the subjugation of the Draviḍas by Govinda III. Therefore unless we assume, which is not un-likely, that in the inscriptions of Northern India the term '*Dravida*' was used loosely to denote

1. I.A. XV pp. 304 ff.
2. Barua, *op. cit.* pp. 1 ff.
3. E.I. II pp. 164 ff.
4. I.A. IV pp. 366 ff.
5. *Ibid.* XV pp. 304 ff.
6. E.I. XV pp. 1 ff.
7. *Ibid.* p. 363.
8. H.B.R.I. p. 117.
9. R.A. p. 79.
10. E.I. XVIII pp. 254 ff. V. 30

any southern power including the Rāstrakūṭas, it is reasonable to take the Rāsṭrakūṭas and the Dravidas as different peoples. In such a case the Dravidas of the Badal pillar-inscription might possibly have been the Pallavas of Kāñchī. In the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla,[1] a reference is made to his ruling over the earth as far as the bridge which proclaimed the fame of Rāvana's foe, i.e. Adam's bridge. Thus Devapāla's success over the Dravidas may suggest his thrust into the far south.[2] Viewed in this light, the campaigns of Devapāla against the *Utkalas* and into the Vindhyan region may be explained as measures to press the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power from the north and the east; and his pressure on the Tamil kingdom was thus a part of the same policy, to contain the Rāsṭrakūṭas within limits and render them innocuous.

The later years, of Devapāla synchronised with the revival of the Pratihāras under Bhoja I, who came to the throne before 836-37 A.D, the date of the Barāh inscription.[3] The reconsolidation of the Pratihāra power and its extension in the North-West, to the foot of the Himālayas in the Punjab, was a veritable challenge to the Pālas. The early successes of Bhoja I in Rajputana and the Punjab must have made him arrogant enough to defy the Pāla emperor. The V. 18 of the Gwālior *Praśasti* of Bhoja[4] seems to suggest that Laksmī, the goddess of sovereignty, who had been consort to Dharma's son (=Devapāla) went to Bhoja. From the Chātśu inscription of Bālāditya,[5] we learn that Harsarāja, son of Śankaragaṇa, conquered kings

1. I.A. XXI pp. 255 ff.
2. H.B.R.I. pp. 120-121.

H. C. Raychaudhuri (K. S Aiyangar Commemoration Volume pp. 197 ff) suggests that the Dravidas may have been the Pandyas. He identifies the *Purvarāja of the Velvikkudi grant, defeated by Māraṅgāri*, the officer of the Pāṇḍya king Nedunjadaiyan, with a Pāla king. The inscription belongs to 769-70 A.D, and this was too early a period for a Pāla king to penetrate so far south. From another inscription we learn that the Pāṇḍya king Śrī Mara Śrī Vallabha (815-862) *defeated* a confederacy of the Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalingas, Magadhas and others. It is not safe to rely on this exaggerated statement for holding that the *Magadhas* were the Palas.

3. E.I. XIX pp 15 ff.
4. *Ibid*, XVIII pp 109, 113, note 4.
5. *Ibid*. XII pp. 10 ff.

in the North and presented horses to Bhoja. Harṣarāja, the Guhilot prince of Rajputana, may have accompanied Bhoja in his campaigns. It is possible that Bhoja may have won some initial success which made him 'arrogant'. But Devapāla, though older in age, proved equal to the occasion, and guided by the wise counsel of Kedāramiśra, he "brought low the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras".[1] Bannerji[2] took him to be Rāmabhadra, but Majumdar[3] rightly pointed out that as Kedāramiśra, the grandson of Darbhapāṇi, who had served Devapāla, is given the credit for this success over the 'lord of Gurjaras', the event must have happened in the last years of Devapāla, and then his contemporary at that time must have been Bhoja I. It is true that both the Pāla and the Pratīhāra records claim victories ; this may show that the result was not decisive. However, it may be true that Devapāla succeeded in holding to his own against the arrogant Pratīhāra Bhoja. It is quite possible that Devapāla had defeated Rāmabhadra and checked Bhoja. This event may be placed some time between 843 and 850 A.D.[4] Soon after this Bhoja was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas [5]

Devapāla was the greatest emperor of the Pāla dynasty. Under his leadership the boundaries of the empire reached their farthest limits in the east and the south. For the first time in the history of the Pālas, their influence penetrated into Kāmarūpa and Orissa ; if the inscriptions are to be believed, the Pāla arms extended far into the South. The hereditary enemies of the Pālas—the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratīhāras—were forced to be on defensive. The boast, that "he has ruled the earth, free from rivals, up to the mountains celebrated for the Gaṅgā's descent, as far as the bridge which proclaims the fame of Rāvaṇa's foe, as far as the ocean which is Lakṣmī's birth-place,"[6]

1. E.I. II pp. 164 ff.
2. M.A.S.B. V p. 56.
3. J.L. X. p. 50.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. I.A. XXI pp. 253 ff.

allowing for the formal exaggerated panegyrics, does contain a substratum of fact The claim to have won the enjoyment of universal sovereignty[1] is not very far from truth

There is, thus, no doubt that under Devapāla the Pala empire reached its acme, and till his death he ruled over the vast empire unreduced in extent, though hammered by his powerful adversary, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, Bhoja I His last known date is the 39th year ,[2] recently some have read 35 instead[3] on the Nalandā copper plate We may assign to him a regnal period of 40 years, and so his rule may have extended from *Cir* 818 to 858 A.D

An Estimate of Devapala.

Devapāla had succeeded to an extensive empire, conquered and consolidated by his father Dharmapāla An able family of ministers assisted Devapala from the very beginning of his reign, when he was young and inexperienced He was well-served by his cousin Jayapala All these favourable factors contribute to explain the golden days of the empire under him But one should not hesitate to give the larger share of the credit for the glorious achievements to the man at the helm of affairs Throughout his long reign, Devapāla kept the Gurjaras in check, and extended his sphere of influence into distant parts of the country. He maintained a large army befitting his extensive empire

Devapala also followed the religious policy of his father He was a patron of Buddhism, and is described as '*Paramasaugata*' in his inscriptions.[4] A votive inscription on a metal image dated in the 3rd year of his reign has been found at Nalanda.[5] Taranātha[6] credits him with the re establishment of the Buddhist religion An undated Buddhist inscription from Ghosra-

1. *Ibid* XV pp. 304 ff
2. E.I XVII pp 307 ff
3. J A S B L. VII pp. 215 ff, H B.R I Appendix I p. 173.
4. E I XXI p 253.
5. M.A S I No 66 p. 87
6 I A IV p 366

wan[1] (7 miles S E from Bihar) informs us that Viradeya of Nagrahara visited Mahabodhi and came to Yaśovarmapura-vihāra, and was appointed by Devapāla to be the principal abbot of Nalanda Another copper-plate inscription[2] with the seal of Devapala has been found at Nalandā The seal, soldered to the top of the plate, '*bears*' an emblem of the Dharmachakra flanked by two gazelles, which is the insignia of Nālandā" It has the legend '*Śri Devapāladevasya.*' The copper-plate contains a lengthy inscription [3] The introductory portion, consisting of the first twenty-four lines, is identical with the Monghyr plate of Devapāla, and like that it was also issued from Mudgagiri (Monghyr) The inscription informs us that Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarnadvipa, requested the *permission* (of Devapala) *to grant four villages for the main*-tenance of the monastery at Nalandā built by Balaputradeva himself The permission was granted, and Balavarman, the ruler of Vyāghratati-Mandala,[4] acted as a messenger of Devapāla. The inscription is dated in the 39th[5] or 35th[6] year of the reign of Devapāla Another inscription on a statue of the Buddhist goddess Tārā has been found at Hilsa (25 miles from Patna junction and 15 miles from Nalanda) It mentions Devapala and *Mañjuśrideva of Nālandamahāvihara* and registers a gift by Gangādhara, a lay devotee of Sakka (Buddha) It is dated in the 35th year of Devapāla's reign [7] Another inscription incised on a brozne image of Sankarsana and referring to Devapāla and Nālandā was discovered at Nālanda.[8] The excavations at Nālandā have brought to light another votive

1 I A XVII pp 307 ff Kielhorn identified Yaśovarmapura vihāra with Ghosrawan, the find spot of the inscription (*Ibid* p 311 note 30)
2 A S I A R 1921-22 p 27
3 E I XVII pp 307 ff
4 Vyaghratatimandala in Pundravardhanabhukti is mentioned in the Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapala Therefore there is no doubt that Balavaman was a subordinate of Devapala
5 I I XVIII pp 307 ff
6 H B R I App I p 173
7 J B O R S X pp 31 ff Majumdar has suggested the reading of 35 (J A S B L. IV pp 390 ff
8. A S I A R 1920-21 p 35

inscribtion, incised on the back of a female image. It mentions the reign of Devapāla.[1] Another is a bronze image of Balarāma. It has the legend '*Devapāladevahaṭṭa.*' Palaeographically it may belong to the time of Devapāla.[2] The Kaśyapa image inscription from Silao (midway between Nālandā and Rājagṛiha) may be assigned to the same period as "the script of the present record bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghosrawan inscription of the time of Devapāla."[3] Another inscription on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha has been found at Nālandā and its characters resemble those of the records of Devapāladeva.[4]

The Pāla empire reached its zenith in the time of Devapāla. But with the death of Devapāla it began to disintegrate.

1. M.A.S.I. No. 66 p. 88.
2. E.I. XXV pp. 334 ff.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 328-34.
4. M.A.S.I. No. 66 p. 89.

CHAPTER XIV

DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE AFTER DEVAPĀLA.

Śurapala and Vigrahapala I

The problem of the succession to the Pala throne after Devapāla is fairly complicated From the Bhagalpur grant of Narāyanapala[1] it appears that Devapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla In the Badal pillar-inscription[2] of Guravamiśra belonging to the time of Nārāyanapāla, Śurapāla is mentioned immediately before Nārayanapala and after Devapāla It has been generally held by scholars that Vigrahapāla and Śūrapāla were different names of the same person R D Bannerji[3] observed that "Vigrahapala I is no doubt the same as Śurapāla, mentioned in the Badal pillar-inscription, because it is the only name mentioned between Devapala and Narāyanapāla, and, again in tne Bhagalpur grant Vigrahapāla's name is the only one mentioned between Devapāla and Nārayanapāla Moreover, in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla we do not find the name of Śūrapala before or close to the name of Nārāyanapala Had there been a different prince of the name of Śūrapāla, his name would surely have been mentioned in it as the inscription contains almost all the names of the Pāla dynasty" Kielhorn[4] readily admitted Hoernle's[5] suggestion that Śūrapāla is identical with Vigrahapala I Many scholars[6] have accepted this identification. It is not impossible that they

1. I A XV. pp. 304 ff.
2. E I II. pp 161 ff
3. M.A S B. V. p 57.
4. E I II pp 161 ff
5. Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part II, Appendix II, pp 206, I A XIV pp 162-65
6. Paul, P.L. E.H B P. I p 47, H C. Roy D H.N I, I pp. 297 ff, R. C. *Majumdar, H B R.I p 127, H P Sastri M A S.B. III p 8*

are identical, but in view of the lack of any positive evidence, the subject cannot be taken as closed

As a matter of fact there are certain equally cogent reasons to presume that they are different persons From the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla[1] it appears that Vigrahapāla I was the son of Jayapāla, brother (cousin ?) of Devapāla. In the Badal pillar-inscription[2] there is absolutely no hint about the *relationship that may have existed between Devapāla and* Śūrapāla Cunningham[3] suggested that Śūrapāla was the

son and successor of Devapala, and younger brother of Rajya pala

The non mention of the name of Śurapala in the Bhagalpur inscription of Narayanapāla does not necessarily mean that Śurapāla should not have existed independently of Vigrahapala I, who is mentioned as the son of Jayapala It should be borne in mind that such royal grants are genealogical not dynastic. It is quite natural not to find the name of Śurapala in the genealogical table of Narayanapala, who was not directly connected with him Skanda Gupta is omitted in the inscriptions of the successors of Puru Gupta The Badal pillar-*inscription of Guravamiśra, belonging to the time of Narayana*-pala,[1] is interested in giving the genealogy of the hereditary family of the ministers, and it mentions only those Pala rulers who were patrons of the ministerial family It is possible that Vigrahapala I did not employ a member of that family as a high minister, and therefore his name is omitted in the inscription In this connection attention may be drawn to the very significant fact that while Garga, his *son Dharbhapani* and his son Kedaramiśra are made actively responsible for the achievements of Dharmapala, Devapala and Śurapala, Guravamiśra appears to be satisfied with the simple fact that "Narayanapala held him in high esteem" Compare this passage with the verses which refer to Devapala waiting on Dharbhapani, and Śurapala relying on Kedaramiśra as Indra on Bṛhaspati [2] We *suggest that the verses in the inscription covertly allude* to an eclipse of the fortune of the ministerial family, and its partial revival under Narayanapala This temporary fall in the status of the family must have been due to some crisis in the imperial dynasty, and therefore, the fact that Narayanapala held Guravamiśra in high esteem was quite gratifying to him The *dutaka* of the Bhagalpur copper plate is Bhaṭṭa Gurava,[3] who has been rightly identified with Guravamiśra of the Badal

1 E I II pp 165-66
2. *Ibid*
3 I.A. XV pp 304 ff.

pillar[1] Therefore, it is clear that before the 17th year of his reign, Nārāyanapala had become reconciled with the ministerial family

Another important fact is that from the Bhagalpur plate we learn that there was a definite change of line in the ruling dynasty Vigrahapala I, father of Nārāyanapala, descended from Vakpala and Jayapala The direct line of Dharmapāla and Devapala was superseded The successor of Devapāla, according to the Bhagalpur plate, was not the son of Devapāla, but a son of Jayapāla Thus there was a break from the main line commencing from Dayitavisnu to Devapala Such a clear change of succession from one branch of the family to another is generally preceded by some family troubles which may end in war of succession

The suspicion of an internal crisis in, and of a possible division of the empire, immediately after the death of Devapala is strengthened by another evidence The Nilgund and Sirur grants of Amoghavarsa I[2], dated 866 A D., state that rulers of Anga, Vanga and Magadha paid homage to him We have already seen that Anga, Vanga and Magadha were in those days one political unit, and in the inscriptions of the Palās, the Pratihāras, the Rastrakūtas the Pāla kings Dharmapāla, and Devapala were addressed as either kings of Vanga or Gauda or Magadha , but never in one such contemporary record were all the separate units of the system Gauda, Vanga, Anga or Magadha mentioned together as different political units It appears to us that sometime before 866 A D. the organic unity of the states mentioned above was broken and Vanga, Anga and Magadha had become three separate independent states which paid homage to the Rāṣtrakūta monarch Amoghavarṣa obtained complete success against the Vengi forces some time about 860 A D[3] The Konnur inscriptions

1 E I II pp 161 ff
2 E I. VI p 103, line 6, I A XII p 218, line 6
3 R A p 75

dated in Śaka Samvat 782 (=3rd Oct 860 A D)[1] do not mention Anga, Vanga or Gauda It is evident that Amoghavarṣa's northern push must have happened after 860 A D It must have synchronised with the disintegration of the Pala empire immediately after the death of Devapala So the Raṣtrakuta intervention in the north should be placed in *Cir* 861 62 A D, during which period the Gauda political system was temporarily dissolved, and Anga Vanga and Magadha became separate independent units, which were too weak to resist Amoghavarṣa, and so submitted to him

It may also be incidentally pointed out that in the long list of the Pala kings we do not know of any one of these having such distinct secondary names as Śurapala and Vigrahapala There is only one instance of a Pala king, Dharmapala or Devapala, being known as Vikramaśila[2] Vikramaśila may be a *biruda*, but Śurapala or Vigrahapala can hardly be a *biruda* of the other[3] The name Surapala reappears in Pala history. One Śurapala was a son of Vigrahapala III Therefore it appears certain that Vigrahapala I and Śurapala I were two different persons, belonging to the same period

The exact course of events that followed the death of Devapala *cannot be known at present because of lack of mate* rial. But it is not impossible to reconstruct the, probable and reasonable sequence in which the events might have happened From the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapala we learn that in the 33rd year of his reign, the *dutaka* of the grant was *Yuvarāja* Rajyapala[4] We do not know if Rajyapala predeceased his father From the Udayasundarikatha by Soḍḍhala[5] we learn that the poet Abhinanda lived in the court of king (*Nareśvara*) *Yuvaraja* The Ramacharita composed by the poet Abhinanda, a native of Bengal, refers to a king Haravarṣa,

1 E I VI pp 25 ff
2 H B R I p 115 note 1
3 Dr B C Sen's suggestion that Rajyapala and Śurapāla may have been identical (*op cit* p 357) *is unacceptable on the same grounds*
4 I A. XXI pp 255 ff
5 *Udayasundari katha* pp 2 3

also known as *Yuvaraja*[1] He is referred to as '*Palanvaya*,' '*Palakulapradīpah*' *Palavamśapradipah*' and '*Palakulachandrah*' There is no doubt that Haravarsa belonged to the Pala dynasty The editor has adduced numerous references from the work to show that Haravarsa was not a mere prince or heir-apparent but a ruling king who patronised Abhinanda in the capacity of a sovereign Haravarsa is referred to as '*nripa*,' '*nripala*,' '*naralokapati*' and '*jagatipati*' etc Abhinanda flourished before the 10th Century A D *Yuvarajadeva* is described as '*Śridharmapalakulakairavakanan ndu*'[2] Thus it is absolutely certain that *Yuvaraja* Haravarsa belonged to the dynasty of Dharmapāla, and that Abhinanda flourished after Dharmapala It is not easy to identify *Yuvaraja* Haravarṣa The editor identifies him with Devapala and suggests that Haravarṣa may have been another name of Devapala 'during his stay in his maternal uncle's household,' as his mother was a Rastrakuta princess In the same work *Yuvaraja* Haravarṣa is described as '*Vikramaśilanandanah*[3] and '*Vikramasilajanma*'[4] So Haravarṣa was a son of Vikramaśila The colophon of the Sragdhara stotratīka mentions Jinarakṣta of *Vikramaśiladeva mahavihara*[5] It appears that the founder of the Vikramaśila monastery was also known as Vikramaśiladeva Dharmapala is credited with the foundation of this monastery[6] Therefore Haravarṣa, who was a son of Vikramaśila, was a son of Dharmapala and should be identified with Devapala The learned editor of Abhinanda's Ramacharita also points out the similarity of ideas in the description of the liberality of Devapala in his Monghyr plate to those expressed in many stanzas referring to the generousity of Haravarṣa in the Ramacharita According to the learned editor "these verses are so remarkably similar that on

1 *Ramacharita* (G O S No XLVI) Intro pp VII XXIII
2 *Ibid* p 253
3 *Ibid* beginning of the fifth Sarga.
4 *Ibid* Sarga XXIX
5 *History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*—S C. Vidyabhusan, Appendix C. page 150 note 2 R. L. Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal p. 229
6 H B R I pp. 115 ff, J B T.S I p. 11

the strength of this alone the identity of Devapāla and Hāravarṣa may be established."

In spite of so many arguments in favour of the identification of Hāravarṣa with Devapāla it has to be pointed out that the proposed identity is not proved According to some tradition the monastery of Vikramaśila was founded by Devapāla,[1] and therefore he may be the Vikramaśiladeva, and Hāravarṣa, a son of Devapāla It has been shown on many occasions that it is very risky to base conclusions on the similarity of ideas contained in different works, it may be just accidental, and some such popular ideas about the patron may be used in similar verses by different poets in different periods for entirely different patrons It may also be pointed out that in one verse in the Rāmacharita Hāravarṣa is mentioned as '*Pṛithvīpāla*',[2] if the latter is a proper name, then Hāravarṣa is certainly a different *person from Devapāla*[3] *Tha fact that Hāravarṣa is* referred to as a powerful king and conqueror by his court poet Abhinanda should not be taken too literally Even small chiefs have been praised to the skies in general terms by their court-poets It is possible that Hāravarṣa was another son of Dharmapāla, or more probably of Devapāla, and after the death of the latter may have succeeded in obtaining control over some part of the empire in Bengal The editor's suggestion

1 H.B R I p 115, note 1, J B T.S I p 10 note According to S C. Das Mchims Thames c'ad mkhoyen pa the historian of Atisa seems to have confused the name of king Dharmapala with that of his son Devapala. Accordiag to Tāranātha Gopala or Devapala founded the monastery at Odantapuri But according to Buston (*op cit* p 157), Dharmapala built the monastery at Odantapuri According to Taranātha Devapāla built a *vihara* at Somapuri but the legend related by Bu Ston about the foundation of Odantapuri *vihara* by Dharmapala is exactly the same as told by Taranātha about the foundation of a *vihara* at Somapura in Varendra by Devapāla From Archaelogical excavations (A S I A R, 1927-28, pp 105 ff.), it appears that Somapura *vihara* was built by Dharmapāla Thus it is obvious that the Tibetan traditions about the foundation of the Buddhist monasteries by the Pala kings are not unanimous It is possible that either Dharmapāla or Devapala founded the *Vikramaśila mahavihāra*, and was known as Vikramasiladeva

2 Rāmacharita (Abhinanda), beginning of the 4th Sarga

3 According to Bu Ston (p 157) one Mahipala was a son of Devapāla. Could he be Pṛithvipala Haravarṣa? Mahī=Pṛithvī.

that the name Hāravarsa was due to Rāṣtrakūta influence may be accepted

Śūrapala, who is referred to in the Badal pillar inscription,[1] and whose two inscriptions are known,[2] was either a son of Devapāla or of *Yuvaraja Rajaypala*,[3] who may have predeceased his father Devapāla

We have seen that Dharmapāla's younger brother Vakpāla is credited with helping Dharmapāla,[4] according to the Badal pillar-inscriptian[5] Garga, the father of Darbhapāni, is said to have made Dharmapāla the regent of the east According to the Bhagalpur plate of Devapala,[6] Jayapāla, the son of Vakpāla, won victories including one over the king of Utkala for Devapāla In the Badal pillar inscription of Guravamiśra, the credit of eradicating the race of the Utkalas is taken by Kedaramisra, the great-grandson of Garga The inference that can reasonably be drawn is that since the time of Dharmapāla, the two families—the family of Garga and that of Vakpala—were rising in importance Vakpala and Jayapala were probably the Commanders-in Chief of the army under Dharmapāla, and Devapāla, while the family of Garga supplied a line of hereditary and loyal ministers

second[1] or third year,[2] recording the erection of images at the *vihara* of Uddantapura (identified with the modern town of Bihar[3]) are known Kedaramiśra, who had served Devapala, continued to serve Śurapala, but the latter was a weak king Instead of mentioning his warlike activities, the inscription refers to his attending sacrifices performed by Kedaramisra, and for the welfare of his kingdom, "he (Śurapala) with bent head received the pure water"[4] Such reliance on sacrifices may suggest some unfortunate turn of events It appears that Vigrahapala, assisted by his able son Narayanapāla, had made himself master of Anga Vanga also was lost for the main line. Hāravarsa (if he is different from Devapāla) may have made himself master of Vanga. At any rate, we find Vanga sometime later in the possession of the Chandra kings, and one of their ancestors may have made himself king of Vanga in this period[5] Thus the Pala empire was parcelled into separate units, and the three separate rulers may have offered submission to Amoghavarṣa in 861 2 A D The reign of Vigrahapāla I could not have been long, as his son ruled at least for 54 years Śurapala's inscriptions are dated in the third year Therefore, we assign a period of four years to Vigrahapala I and Śūrapala, who were contemporaries. Their reigns were over by 862 A D

Narayanapala

Vigrahapāla abdicated his throne, and was succeeded by his son Narayanapāla[6] in *Cir* 863 A D From the find spots of the inscriptions of his time, it is clear that he did not only rule

1 M A S B V p 57
2 I H Q 1927 pp 386-87.
3 M.A.S B V p 57
4. E I II p 166
5 The date of *Mahārājādhirāja Śri Chandra* on palaeographic grounds "may be assigned to the close of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century A.D (H.B R I pp 196 ff) His great-grandfather Pūrṇachandra may have flourished in the period *Cir 860-90* A D
6. I A XV. pp 304 ff Verse 17 of the inscription suggests the abdication of Vigrahapāla in favour of Nārāyaṇapāla It informs us that as Sagara said to Bhagiratha thus,' Let penance be mine and be king

over Anga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts), but over Magadha (Patna and Gaya districts), and Pundravardhana (North Bengal). Thus almost the whole of the home provinces of the Pāla empire were brought back under one sceptre. Thus, the family of Vākpāla and Jayapāla ultimately triumphed over that of Śūrapāla, and this change of fortune affected adversely, though temporarily, the hereditary ministerial family of Garga. It is possible that Nārāyanapāla may have received some assistance from the Haihayas, to whose family his mother Lajjā belonged.[1]

Nārāyanapāla was master of Western Magadha before the 7th year of his reign, in which the Gaya temple inscription is dated.[2] "The purpose of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery for Brahmanical ascetics by Bhaṇḍadeva in the seventh year of the king Nārāyanapāladeva."[3] Another document, now known as the Indian Museum stone-inscription is dated in the 9th year of his reign. It records the erection of an image by a Buddhist elder Dharmamitra, an inhabitant of the Āndhra country.[4] According to R. D. Bannerji this inscription "most probably came with the other sculptures from the Bihar museum founded by Mr. Bradley, when that collection was shifted to Calcutta, according to the directions of the government of Bengal."[5] This inscription, therefore, may have been found in the Patna district. The Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla, dated in the 17th year, was issued from Mudgagiri (Monghyr).[6] Thus it is clear that down to the

dom thine", so did Vigrahapāla speak to his son Nārāyanapāla This *strengthens our suspicion that the period of Vigrahapāla's rule was stormy.* The invasions of Amoghavarsa and Bhoja I may have occurred at this time, and Vigrahapāla entrusted the kingdom to his able son

1. *Ibid* The Haihayas of the inscription may have been one of the Kalachuri families—one of Dāhala and the other of Gorakhpur are known. "The queen of Vigrahapāla I belonged presumably to one of these families" (H B.R I. p 27, note 3.
2. M A S B V. pp 60-61.
3. *Ibid.* p 61.
4. *Ibid* pp. 61 62
5. *Ibid*
6. I.A XV. pp 304 ff.

17th year of his reign, Narayanapala *ruled over the whole of* Magadha, including Anga The Badal pillar inscription of Guravamisra, belong ng to the time of Narayanapala and found at Badal in Dinajpur district of North Bengal, is not dated, but its period cannot be far removed from that of the Bhagalpur plate Bhatta Gurava the *dutaka* of the Bhagalpur grant, has been identified with Guravamis a of the Badal pillar In *the Badal inscription, Guravamisra is proud to mention the* simple fact that Narayanapala held him in high esteem, but in Bhagalpur plate he is holding a very high office—that of a *dutaka* of a royal grant It is reasonable to presume that soon after his accession, Narayanapala became reconciled with the ministerial family and pardoned Guravamiśra for the part that he or his father may have played during the internal troubles in the family This may have occasioned the erection of the Garuda pillar Later on Guravamiśra was appointed to the high office of a *dutaka* Thus, it appears that the Badal pillar is earlier in date than the Bhagalpur copper plate Therefore, it may be safely stated that before the 17th year of his reign, *Narayanapala ruled over Magadha and Gauda, including* Pundravardhana

Between the 17th year of his reign when the Bhagalpur grant was issued, and the 54th year, the date of the Bihar image inscription, we have no dated record of Narayanapala The presumption is that this pretty long period of thirty seven years was one of misfortunes for him We have positive evidence which shows that during this period his authority was overthrown and the Pratiharas took possession of the Pala empire We have already seen that Amoghavarṣa had invaded the *Pala kingdom The conquest of a portion of Radha by the* Śulki king Maharajadhiraja Ranastambha[1] may also be assigned to the same period

Those who gained most from the misfortunes of the Palas were the Gurjara Pratiharas Mihira Bhoja, whose first

1 History of Orissa I pp 193 96

attempt at establishing an All-North Indian Empire was checked by Devapala[1] and Dhruva[2] of the Gujarat Rastrakuta branch, renewed his efforts, and this time he was successful The Pala kingdom torn by the pacific rulers Vigrahapala I and Narayanapala, was not in a position to stop the Pratihara advance Neither the Badal pillar inscription nor the Bhagal pur copper plate refers to any clear victory in battle by Narayanapala His literary accomplishments and generosity are emphasised in the Bhagalpur inscription [3] It appears that Narayanapala did not inherit the military fervour of Dharmapala and Devapala, and was engaged in peaceful pursuits, when dark clouds were about to burst on him

Mihira Bhoja, the real founder of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire, though then old, was ambitious enough to try again He began his offensive in the east, and appears to have gained some success From the Kahla plates of Sodhadeva, dated in the Vikrama year 1134 or 1077 A D , and discovered in the pargana Dhunapa of the Gorakhpur district,[4] we learn that Gunambhodhideva, a chief of the Kalachuri family and ninth in ascent from Sodhadeva received land from Bhoja and "took away sovereignty from the Gauda king" Gunambhodhideva must have been a contemporary of Bhoja I, and may have accompanied Bhoja in his eastern campaign The famous Kala churi king Kokalla I is said to have granted freedom from fear to Bhoja and plundered the treasures of many kingdoms, including that of Vanga [5] This Bhoja is probably Bhoja I [6] The Guhilot chief Harsaraja may have also accompanied Bhoja in his earlier campaign against Devapala, and Guhila II may have joined Bhoja[7] in his later expedition against the

1 *See Supra*
2 J L. X p 50
3 I A XV pp 304 ff
4 E.I VII pp 85-93
5 E.I I p 256 II pp 297 ff XIX pp 75 ff
6 H B.R I p 128 note 5 Tripathi (T K pp 255 56) identifies him with Bhoja II But chronology of Kokalla I makes it very likely that he was a contemporary of Bhoja I father of Bhoja II Kielhorn is of the same opinion (E.I II pp 300 ff)
7 E I XII p 13

the Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal Gunāmbhodhideva, the Kalachuri chief of the Gorakhpur district,[1] east of Bihar, had become a feudatory of Bhoja I His authority was recognised in Saurāstra in the west,[2] and touched Malwa in the south, where "frontier affrays against the Rāstrakūtas went on."[3] His supermacy over Bundelkhand and Central India may be also inferred from the Barah copper plate[4] and Devagarh[5] inscrip

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Narayanapala may have also suffered some reverses at the hands of the Rastrakuta king Krsna II, who succeeded Amoghavarsa in 880 A D[3] From the Karhad inscription of Krisna III we learn that Krisna II was the preceptor "charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility", and that ' his commands were obeyed by Anga, Kalinga, Ganga and Magadha "[4] Malla I of Velanaudu who is credited with the subjugation of the Vangas, Magadhas and Gaudas,[5] besides others, may have accompanied Krisna II Narāyanapala married his son Rājyapala to the daughter of Tunga,[6] who may be identified with Jagattunga, son of Krisna II[7]

Thus Narāyanapala had to face troubles from all sides, and he was ultimately evicted from Magadha by the Pratiharas Bhoja had succeeded in establishing the Pratiharas as the predominant power in the Northern India His empire included Karnal district[8] in the North-West, it touched the Himalayas in the north, and on the east it approached the boundaries of

1 A.S I A R 1903 4 p 285 Hirananda Sastri reads '*Brihad angan* in v 21 R C Majumdar (E I XVIII pp 109 ff) reads '*Brihad ansan*' However this formidable enemy must have been the Palas
2 E I I p 156 V 22 *Srimadadi arahenatrailokyam vijigisuna*
3 R A p 90
4 E I IV pp 283 88
5 *Ibid* IV pp 40 48
6 *Ibid* XIV pp 324 ff
7 H B R I p 131 a d note 4
8 E I I p 188

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1 *Ibid* VII pp 85 ff
2 I H Q V pp 129 33, T K pp 245 246
3 R A pp 96 97
4 E I XIX pp 15 ff
5 *Ibid* IV pp 309 ff
6 T K p 248
7 M A S B V pp 63-64
8 *Ibid*
9 *Kon gi Gesellschaft d.r Wissenschaften* 1904 pp 210 11 K's list F I V App p 47, note 5

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2 E I I. p. 156 V. 22 *Śrimadadhivarahenatrailokyam vijigisunā*
3. R A p 90
4 E I IV. pp. 283-88.
5 *Ibid*. IV pp 40 48
6 *Ibid*. XIV pp 324 ff
7 H.B R I p 131 and note 4
8. L.I I. p 188

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6 T K. p 248
7 M A S B V pp 63-64
8 *Ibid*
9 *Kon gi Gesellschaft d r Wissenschaften*, 1904 pp 210 11 K s list E I V App p 47, note 5

the 19th regnal year of Mahendrapala [1] Bannerji[2] suggested that Kittoe's reading of the date may be incorrect and the inscription may be one of those present in the British Museum The suggestion may not be correct and the inscription may have been unfortunately lost Sometime ago another Buddha image inscription, belonging to the 4th year of the reign of Mahendrapala, was found in Bihar [3] Another inscription on a Buddha image belonging to the 4th year of Mahendrapala, was found at Bihar by Hiranand Sastri in 1933 [4] An inscription, belonging to the time of Mahendrapala, has been found in Itkhori in Hazaribagh district of Bihar [5] In Nalanda in the Stupa area of the site under exploration, several stupas have been exposed Three fine little stupas 'in all probability were built in the reign of Mahendrapala All of them bear inscriptions in early Nagari script and Sanskrit language' [6] One of them records the construction of a *Chaitya* in the reign of Mahendrapala This Mahendrapala was at first taken to be a Pala king, but Bannerji conclusively proved that he was Mahendrapala, son of Bhoja, the Pratihara king The learned scholar had at first suggested that while Western Magadha was lost to the Pratiharas, after the 17th year of the reign of Narayanapala, the latter continued to rule in Eastern Magadha including Uddantapura [7] But this theory is no longer tenable in view of the discovery of the Bihar and Itkhori inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapala An inscription, belonging to the 5th year of the reign of Mahendrapala, has been found at Paharpur in Rajshahi district in North Bengal [8] This Mahendrapala is certainly the Pratihara king The conquest of North Bengal must have come after the annexation of Magadha Therefore, it is clear that before the 5th year of his reign, Mahendrapala

1 M A S B V p 64
2 Ibid
3 A S I A R. 1923 24 p 102
4 M A S I No 66 pp 105 106
5 M A S I No 66 p 106
6 M A S B V pp 63 64
7 I A XLVII pp 109 ff
8 A S I A R 1925 26 p 141

was master of South Bihar, including Chota Nagpur and North Bengal. This may explain why the name of Mahendrapāla is mentioned by Taranātha[1] in the list of Kings of Bengal As no inscription of Bhoja I has been discovered outside the eastern limits of the Uttara Pradesh, it is reasonable to credit Mahendrapala with the conquest of South Bihar and North Bengal

During the period of the Pratihāra domination over South Bihar and North Bengal, "the Pala dominion was limited to Western Bengal and Northern part of the Gangetic delta"[2] It may be assumed, unless positive evidence is forthcoming to the contrary, that Mahendrapala retained his hold over South Bihar and North Bengal down to the end of his reign The Dighwa Dubauli plate was issued by Mahendrapāla in (Vikrama) year 955 (=898 99 A D)[3] It concerns a village about 25 miles south-east of Gopalganj in the Saran district of Bihar Thus Mahendrapala's hold over North Bihar is proved His last known date is 907 08 A D[4]

Before the 54th year of his reign, Narāyanapāla had recovered Magadha This is proved by the discovery of a votive image inscription belonging to the 54th year of his reign and found in the town of Bihar[5] The 54th year of his reign must be later than 907 8 A. D, the last known date of Mahendra pāla, who may have ceased to reign in *Cir.* 910 A D,[6] and Narāyanapala's reconquest of Magadha must have happened after the death of Mahendrapala—the greatest sovereign of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty, who ruled from Saurastra in the west to North Bengal in the east, from the Himālayas in the

1 I A IV p 366
2 *JBORS XIV p 508*
3 I A XV pp 105 ff Fleet read the date as 155 and assigned it to the Harṣa era He also took Mahendrapāla of the inscription to be a different person from the Pratihara emperor Mahendrapala But D R Bhandarkar (J B B R A S XXI pp 405 412) satisfactorily showed that Mahendrapala of the inscription was the Pratihara king of the same name and son of Bhoja I He corrected the date as VS 955 (E I. XIX App No 40)
4 E I I pp 173 ff
5 I A XLVII pp 109 ff
6 T K. p 255

north to the Vindhyas in the south Internal dissensions and foreign invasions brought about the dismemberment of the Pratihara empire According to the Pratapgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapala II, Mahendrapala I was succeeded by Vinayakapala [1] According to the Bengal Asiatic Society plate of Vinayakapala,[2] Mahendrapala was succeeded by his son Bhoja II but the Asni inscription[3] makes Mahīpala the successor of Mahendrapala Mahipala was a son of Mahendrapala [4]

Kielhorn[5] and Bhandarkar[6] have held that Mahipala, Ksitipala Vinayakapala and Herambapala were the names of the same person G S Ojha[7] held that Vinayakapala was a different person than Mahipala and was another son of Mahendrapala R C Majumdar[8] appears to be uncertain on this issue though he admits the force of G S Ojha s arguments At any rate, it is very likely that Bhoja, Mahipala and or Vinayakapala claimed right to succession While the Bengal Asiatic plate of Vinayakapala mentions his brother Bhoja, Mahipala is excluded If Mahīpala is different from Vinayakapala, then it appears that he (Mahīpala) was considered an usurper by Vinayakapala and so omitted here

However, Tripathi's suggestion that there may have been a civil war between Bhoja II and Mahipala I[9] is very plausible Mahipala occupied the throne before 914 A D [10] Before he was secure on the throne, he had to face the invasion of the Rastrakuṭa king, Indra III He *came to the throne in the* early months of 915 A D [11] The internal dissensions in the Pratihara family encouraged Indra III to emulate the exam-

1 E I XIV pp 176 ff
2 I A XV p 140
3 *Ibid* XVI pp 173 75 Fleet read Mahisapala for Mahindrapala
4 E I I pp 170 71 J L X p 58
5 E I I pp 170 71
6 J B B R A S XXI pp 406 7
7 E I. XIV p 180.
8 J L X p 63
9 T K p 255
10 *Ibid* I A XII p 195
11 Bomb Gaz I pt 2 p 415

ples of Dhruva and Govinda III From the Cambay plates of Govinda IV,[1] we learn that Indra during his campaign to Northern India halted at Ujjain and paid respect to the deity, Mahakāla Then "his steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamuna .. ," and "he completely devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala" Kanauj, the capital of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, was traditionally the centre of the hereditary enemies of the Rāstrakūtas Indra III sacked it, "though the complete devastation of Mahodaya, which Indra III is said to have brought about, is merely poetical"[2] It is certain that, as a result of this defeat, Mahipāla lost the throne temporarily and was pursued by Indra's feudatory Narasimha up to the junction of the Ganges, i e Allahabad. According to the Kanarese poet Pampa, the author of *Vikramarjunavijaya* or Pampa Bhārata, Narasimha "plucked the goddess of victory from the arrows of *Gurjararāja*, defeated a king named Mahipāla, and bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganges"[3] The defeat and the helpless condition of Mahipāla are confirmed by another independent source A fragmentary stone inscription from Khajuraho[4] informs us that Harsadeva, or his successor, Yaśovarman, restored again Ksitipāla on the throne From another inscription of the same place, we learn that Ksitipala was a predecessor of Devapala, the paramount ruler of Kanauj[5] It has been shown that Mahipāla, Ksitipāla and Herambapāla were the names of the same person So it appears that when Indra III sacked Kanauj and defeated Mahipāla, the latter fled and was later on restored to the throne with the help of his feudatory Chandela king Harsadeva or Yaśovarman The Chandelas were the feudatories of the Pra-

1. E.I VII pp 26 ff
2. E I VII p 30
3 Quoted by Fleet Bomb Gaz I pt. II p. 380
4 E I I p 121
5 *Ibid* p 124

tihāras.[1] As the last known date of Indra III is 916-17 A D, and the earliest known date ot Govinda IV is December 918 A. D.,[2] the invasion of Indra III is to be placed in 916-17 A. D. The Pratihāra power revived after the restoration of Mahīpāla I. But it can hardly be questioned that the unfortunate turn of events in the Pratihāra empire after the death of Mahendrapāla must have been utilised by Nārāyanapāla, who liberated Magadha and also North Bengal from the yoke of the Pratīhāras sometime between 910 and 916 A D[3] The reign of Nārāyanapāla came to an end in 916 A. D.

Rājyapāla

Nārāyanapāla was succeeded by his son Rājyapāla.[4] An inscription, belonging to the 24th year of his reign, has been found in a Jaina temple in Nālandā.[5] His four inscriptions on bronze images, dated in the 28th, 31st and 32nd years of his reign, have been discovered in Kurkihara in the district of Gaya.[6] It is clear the Rājyapāla ruled at least for thirty-two years, and Magadha was under his control He is mentioned as having built many temples[7] He married Bhāgyadevi, daughter of Tungadeva, the moon of the Rāṣṭrakūta family[8] Kielhorn identified Tungadeva with Jagattunga, son of Krisna II; N. Vasu suggested that he was Krisna II himself. Another suggestion is that Tungadeva is the Rāstrakūta prince Tunga Dharmāvaloka, whose stone inscription was discovered at Bodha-Gaya[9] The reign of Rājyapāla came to an end in *Cir.* 948 A. D

1. *Ibid.*
2. Bomb. Gaz I, pt. II p 416
3. If Raṣṭrakuṭa Tunga, the father-in-law of Rajyapāla, the son of Narāyanapala, is to be identified with Krisna II or his son, then the marriage of Rājyapāla must have been performed before Indra's invasion of Northern India. It is possible that these two events are correlated.
4. E.I. XIV. pp. 328 ff
5. I.A. XLVII. pp 111 ff
6. J.B O.R.S XXVI, pp 236 ff
7. E.I. XIV. pp. 328 ff.
8. *Ibid.* pp. 324 ff
9. Buddha Gaya, p. 194, ins. No. 8 The record belongs to the 10th Century.

Gopala II

Rajyapāla was succeeded by his son Gopala II, born of Bhāgyadevi, daughter of Tunga, the *moon of the* Rastrakuta family It was most probably during the early years of his reign that Gauda and Varendra were lost No inscription of Rajyapala and Vigrahapala II has been found in North Bengal. But a copper-plate inscription, belonging to the 6th year of Gopala's reign, has been found in Jajilpara in North Bengal[1] This proves that, at least up to the 6th year of his reign, Gopāla continued to hold North Bengal. But soon afterwards North Bengal, if not the whole of Bengal, was lost, and Mahipala I later on recovered it[2] Some interesting light is *thrown on the subject by the Dinajpur pillar inscription*[3] *It* refers to the building of a Śiva temple in the year read by some as "888"[4] by that king of Gauda, of Kamboja family, whose ability in subduing the irresistible forces of the enemy, and whose discrimination of the merits of the "suitors in giving gifts are sung by the Vidyādharas in heaven with delight" Palaeographically the inscription "cannot be assigned to an age much earlier than that of the Badal pillar inscription of Narayanapāla, and it cannot be later than that of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena"[5] Therefore, it has been argued that the Gauda king, belonging *to the Kāmboja family, must have invaded and* conquered Northern Bengal in the time of Gopala II The Bangarh grant of Mahipala I, dated in the 9th year of his reign, refers to Mahīpāla as, "having obtained his paternal kingdom which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it"[6] It has heen argued

1. *Bharatavarsa* 1344 (B S) Part I p 264
2. J A S.B VII, (N S) pp 615 ff.
3. *Ibid*
4. *Kunjaraghatavarsa* has been taken to mean 888 and assigned to the Śaka era Bhandarkar differed from this interpretation by Messrs R. D Bannerji R P Chanda etc J C Ghosh (I H Q IX, pp 789 ff) has taken *Kunjaraghata arsa* to be a proper name and makes him a contemporary of Vijayasena
5. J A S B VII (N S) pp 615 ff
6. E.I XIV pp 328 ff

that it was from the Kambojas, who came from Tibet, Bhutan or some other Himalayan country, that Mahipala recovered his paternal kingdom i e Northern Bengal[1] The theory of the Kamboja invasion and occupation of Northern Bengal has become complicated by the discovery of the Irda copper plate of Nayapala[2] The plate was obtained from the *zamindar* of Irda in the Balasore district in Orissa and the grant was issued from Priyangu the capital (*Rajadhani*) by the *Parambhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara* Nayapala, who was the younger brother of Narayanapala and the son of *Paramesvara Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja* Rajyapala, a scion of the Kamboja family and a devotee of the Buddha The inscription further states that Priyangu was founded by Rajyapala, and Nayapala issued the land grant to a Brahmana in the Dandabhuktimandala of the Vardhamanabhukti[3] The name of the queen of Rajyapala was Bhagyadevi It is very tempting to identify Rajyapala of the Irda copper-plate with the Pala king Rajyapala, son of Narayanapala and father of Gopala II Both have their queen of the name of Bhagyadevi Both are devotees of the Buddha, both have imperial titles The seal of the Irda copper-plate resembles that of the Pala records Their names end in —Pala Therefore, it has been suggested that they are identical, and there was a division of the empire between Gopala II and Narayanapala (II ?), both sons of Rajyapala

But there are considerations which vitiate against this simple conclusion Rajyapala of the Irda copper plate is referred to as '*Kamboja vamśa tilakah*'[3] In no Pala records, the Palas are connected with the Kambojas D C Sircar suggests that the Palas are silent about their lineage, and it is not impossible that they may have been related to the Kamboja family on the mother's side J C Ghosh[4] suggests an emendation and instead of "*Kam*

1 J A S B VII (N S) pp 615 ff
2 A S.I A R 1934 35 pp. 561 ff
3 E I XXII pp 150 ff
4 E I XXIV pp. 43 ff

boja vamśa-tilakah," he reads "*Kāmboja Dhangvatiparaḥ,*" "an inveterate foe of Kāmboja and Dhanga" But such a tampering with epigraphic records to suit certain pet notions is really unwarranted[1] Whether Rājyapāla belonged to the Pāla dynasty or not, he certainly belonged to the Kamboja family The son and successor of Rājyapāla of the Irda plate was Nārāyanapāla, which was the name of the father of Rajyapala of the Pāla dynasty Nayapala of the Pala dynasty was the son of Mahīpāla I, while Nayapāla of the Irda plate was a younger brother of Nārāyanapāla Bhāgyadevi is the common name of the wives of the two Rājyapālas But a vital difference is that whenever Bhāgyadevi, the queen of Rajyapāla, is mentioned in the Pāla inscriptions she is always referred to as the daughter of Tunga, the ornament of the Rastrakūta race in the Irda plate Bhāgyadevī is not described as the daughter of Tunga Therefore, it is not unlikely that Bhāgyadevi of the Irda plate is not the Bhāgyadevī of the Pāla records, and so Rājyapāla of the Irda plate is also not the Rājyapāla of the Pala records The names of the kings of the Irda copper-plate, no doubt, end in "Pāla," and such names are common in the Pāla dynasty, but the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty had also kings whose names ended in 'Pāla', and the names of some kings like Mahi-Pāla, Devapāla and Rājyapāla are common But nobody would suggest that the identity of names proves the identity of persons Samudravarman and Dattadevi were the names of the king and queen of Kāmarūpa almost in the same period in which Samudra Gupta and his queen Dattadevī flourished, but it would be absured to take the two Dattadevis to be the same person On these grounds we think that Rājyapāla of the Irda plate was a different person from that of the Pāla dynasty, and at any rate "we have to be very cautious in accepting the proposed identification" Assumption of imperial titles by both the Rājyapālas proves nothing, as in those days even

1. *Ibid.* p. 43, note 6.

local rulers like the Chandras assumed imperial titles such as *Paramabhattaraka* and *Maharājadhirāja*

One thing is obvious Gopala II, soon after his 6th regnal year, did not rule over Northern and Western Bengal (Radha). The Irda copper plate is issued from Priyangu, (a place not yet identified) and refers to a grant of land in the Dandabhukti-maṇḍala in the Vardhamanabhukti [1] Dandabhukti comprised large parts of South-Western Bengal, including portions of the Midnapore district of Bengal and the Balasore district of Orissa Rajyapala may have been connected with the Kāmboja ruler of Gauda who inscribed the Dinajpur pillar inscription [2] Yaśovarman, the Chandela ruler, is said to have defeated sometime before 953 54 A D many kings, among whom is included a king of Gauda [3] who may have been Gopala II or one of the rulers mentioned in the Irda plate Mithilā (North Bihar) was also one of the targets of Yaśovarman's attack It may show that Mithilā then was a separate independent unit out of the Pāla empire The Chedi attack[4] on Gauda and Vangala may also belong to the same period The repeated foreign invasions acted both as a cause and an effect of the weakness of the Pāla military machine and of the rapid disintegration of the empire The separate mention of Anga, Vanga, Gauda, Radha, Vangāla, and Magadha may suggest the break up of the political unit The Chandras, the Kāmbojas and the Pālas ruled over Southern and Eastern Bengal, Western and Northern Bengal, and Anga and Magadha respectively

Gopala succeeded to the kingdom of Magadha The Nālandā *Vagiśvari stone-image* inscription is dated in the first year of the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭaraka Maharajadhiraja* Gopāladeva [5] Another inscription belonging to the time of Gopāla has been found at Bodha Gaya [6] Gopala's rule over Magadha is unques-

1 E I XXII pp 150 ff
2 J A S B (N S) VII pp 615 ff
3 E I I pp 123 ff It is to be noted that the inscription was written by Jaddha the son of Jayaguna (?) of the Gauḍa country.
4 E I II. pp 297 ff, XI p 142
5 J A S B. IV. (N S) pp 105-6
6 *Ibid* pp 102 5

tioned His rule over Anga (Eastern Bihar) is also proved From the British Museum manuscript of Astasahasrika Prajna Paramita we know that in the 15th year of the reign of Gopala the manuscript was written in the *Vikramaśiladevavihara*,[1] which was *situated in Bhagalpur district (ancient Anga)* There is a Palm leaf manuscript of the Maitreya Vaiyakarana, belonging to the reign of Gopaladeva, and it bears a date on the reading of which there is a serious controversy H P Sastri[2] read it as "57," Bhandarkar[3] as "11" and Bannerji[4] as "17" It is true that in the official records (e g Bangarh, Amgachhi and Manhali grants), Gopala is said to have been the sole lord of the earth for a long time (*chirantaram*), and on this basis it has been urged that 'a very long reign (more than fifty years) has got, *therefore, to be provided to* Gopala II "[5] But the verse is a mere formal panegyric In an inscription of Gopala II himself, dated in the 6th year of his reign,[6] the same verse is used, and certainly it is no proper explanation for "*chirantaram*' Narayanapala ruled for 54 years, Rajyapala for 32 years, and so a long reign of 57 years for Gopala II is very unlikely. Therefore, we have attributed to him a reign of 17 years, and his regnal period may have lasted from 848 to 865 A D

Vigrahapala II

Gopāla II was succeeded by his son Vigrahapala II The Bangarh grant of Mahipala I[7] speaks of Vigrahapala in the following words —"As the moon, the scatterer of myriads of rays, from the sun, so from him (Gopāladeva) was born Vigrahapaladeva, the scatterer of innumerable riches By his rise (or birth), who was pleasing to the eyes on account of personal

1 J R A S 1910 pp 150 51
2 A descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, in the Government collection by H P Sastri Vol I pp 14 15
3 J B O R XIV p 491
4 J B O R S XIV pp 490 ff
5 I H Q VI pp 153 ff
6 *Bhāratavarṣa* 1344 (B S) Part I p 264
7 E I XIV p 328

beauty (or by his soft rays), who was pure (or spotless), who was learned in the arts (*kalāmaya*), was alleviated the distress of the world ___whose war-elephants, like clouds having drunk clear water in the eastern country, which abounds with water, after they having roamed according to their own will in the sandal forests of the valleys of the Malaya (country), (and) having caused a coolness in the Maru lands by throwing dense sprays, enjoyed the slopes of the Himālayas"[1] Kielhorn took these verses to refer to tours of conquest, even if this interpretation of the verses be accepted, the statements in them should not be taken too literally A K. Maitreya[2] sees in these verses an aimless wandering of Vigrahapāla after some serious defeat Exactly the same verse is included in the newly found inscription of Gopala II,[3] and therefore the suspicion that troubles had begun in the time of Gopāla is strengthened, and both Gopala and Vigrahapāla had to roam aimlessly. Immediately after these verses in the Bangarh and other grants is included the verse which refers to the "slaying of all the enemies and obtaining his paternal kingdom (by Mahīpāla) which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it"[4] It is very possible that the Kāmboja Palas, who had at first made themselves masters of Gauda and Varendri, extended their conquests further south and west, and from the Irda copper-plate we learn that the Daṇḍabhuktimandala and the Vardhamanabhukti were under their suzerainty. Thus almost the whole of Bengal was lost by the Palas Eastern and South-Eastern Bengal was under the Chandras, while Northern, Western and South Western Bengal were under the Kambojas This loss of the entire paternal dominion of Bengal may have happened in the time either of Gopala II or of Vigrahapala II It may not be without some significance that except the roaming of Vigrahapala with his war elephants in

1 E I XIV pp 328 ff
2 *Gaudalekham la* p 100 footnote
3 *Bharatavarsa* B S 1344 p 264
4 E I XIV pp 328 ff

different parts of the country, the inscriptions do not mention any military activity, much less a victory of Vigrahapala His beautiful personality, pure character and proficiency in arts are emphasized [1] So he appears to have been a ruler of peaceful disposition, and in those days of storm and stress a peaceful ruler was always a weak and incapable ruler The Khajuraho inscription refers to Dhanga's victory over kings of Radha and Anga [2] The king of Anga was Gopala II, while the king of Radha may have been Narayanapala or Nayapala of the Irda copper plate [3]

A MS. of the Pañcharaksa written in the 26th year of the reign of *Parameśvara Paramabhattaraka Paramasaugata Maharajā dhiraja Śri mad Vigrahapāladeva* is preserved in the British Museum [4] Bendall suggested that Vigrahapala of the manuscript may be identified with Vigrahapala II and R D Bannerji[5] accepted the identification on palaeographic evidence D C. Bhattacharya[6] pooh poohs the reliance on palaeography in determining a date within a short interval of 100 years R C Majumdar[7] challenges the very basis of the theory by questioning the validity of identifying Gopaladeva of the MS of the Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita in the British Museum[8] with Gopala II, and Mahipala of the MSS of Astasahasrikā Prajnaparamita of the Bengal Asiatic Society,[9] and Cambridge University Library[10] with Mahipala I, as suggested by Bendall and Barnett, and accepted by Bannerji It is hardly possible to assign a reign of 6 years to Mahipala II H C Ray gives him hardly one year Therefore the Mahipala of the MSS must be Mahīpala I and so the plausibility that Vigrahapala

1 E I XIV pp 328 ff
2 E I I p 138.
3 *Ib d* XXII pp. 150 ff
4 Bendall—Cat of Sans MSS Br Mus pp. 232-33
5 M A S B V p 67 J B.O R S XIV pp. 489 ff.
6 I H Q VI pp 153 ff
7 J A S.B XVI (N S) pp 301 ff
8 J R A S 1 10 pp 150 51
9 Pro A S B 1899 p 69
10 Bendall Cat of Budd Sans [illegible] Univ Lib Cam pp. ii (intro) p. 101

of the Pañcharakṣā MS. is Vigrahapāla II is very much increased. So Vigrahapāla II may be assigned a reign of twenty-six years. In such a case the three bronze image inscriptions discovered at Kurkihara in Gaya district and belonging to the 3rd and 19th years of the reign of Vigrahapāla should be assigned to Vigrahapāla II, and not to Vigrahapāla III, as the learned editor has done.[1] The rule of Vigrahapāla II was over by Cir. 991 A. D.

1. J.B.O.R.S. XXVI. pp 235 ff. No 1,4 5 It is significant that no inscription of a Pāla king after Mahipala (I) is noticed in 96 inscriptions

CHAPTER XV

RESTORATION OF THE PĀLA EMPIRE UNDER MAHĪPĀLA I

Vigrahapala II was succeeded by his son Mahipala I Under Mahipala there was a revival of the Pala empire, which had been shrinking after the death of Devapala and had been almost confined to Magadha The Bangarh grant of Mahipala I, dated in the 9th year of his reign, was found in Bangarh in Dinajpur district of North Bengal This is a clear proof of Mahipala's restoration of authority in Northern Bengal before the 9th year of his reign The inscription[1] informs us that he recovered the paternal kingdom which had been snatched away by people who had no claim to it The people, who had usurped the kingdom were probably the Kambojas, or the kings mentioned in the Irda plate Their rule extended to the south-west corner of Bengal and Northern Orissa There is no ground to assume that all this was lost only in the time of Vigrahapala II, the father of Mahipala, or that by 'paternal kingdom' only North Bengal was meant At one time the ancestors of Mahipala had ruled over practically the whole of Bengal, but Gopala II and Vigrahapala II gradually lost the country which included Pundravardhana, Gauda, Radha, Vanga and Samatata Therefore, when we are told that Mahipala obtained his paternal kingdom before the 9th year of his reign, we have to assume that he re-established the Pala authority over other divisions of Bengal also, besides Varendra This receives confirmation from the discovery of the Baghaura Visnu image-inscription[2] of the third year of the reign of Mahi

1 F I XIV pp 328 ff

2 J A S B XI (N S) pp 17 ff The inscription has been referred to the reign of the Pala king Mahipala I (E I XVII pp 353 55 D H N I I p 311) D C Ganguli (I H Q XVI pp 179 ff) takes him to be the

pāla The inscription was found at Baghaura in the Commila district of Eastern Bengal, then in Samataṭa Thus, it is clear that in or before the third year of his reign Mahīpāla's authority was recognised in Samataṭa Bhattasali interpreted V 12 of the Bangarh grant to mean that Vigrahapāla II, after losing his kingdom, took shelter in the eastern country, where water abounds (*deśe Prachi prachura payasi*), and so he suggested that the Baghaura inscription proves that it was in Samatata that Vigrahapāla II took shelter, and it was there that Mahīpāla was crowned[1] The suggestion is open to serious criticism. The verses which refer to the roaming of Vigrahapāla with his elephants mention his sojourn not only in the eastern country but also in the Malaya, Maru and Himālayan regions[2] The war elephants of Vigrahapāla roamed in all the four quarters, and there is no reason why he should be regarded as having taken shelter in the eastern country alone, where water abounds It may be also pointed out that the same verse occurs also in a recently found inscription of Gopāla II[3] Therefore, the Baghaura inscription does not prove that Mahipāla was crowned there, but it suggests that Samatata was reconquered by him before the 3rd year of his reign. This point is strengthened by the discovery of the Vināyaka image inscription belonging to the fourth year of the king Mahipāla, found at Nārayanapura in the Tipperah district of East Bengal[4] This Mahipāla is certainly Mahipāla I, as Mahipala II had a very short and troublesome reign These two inscriptions prove beyond doubt that the present Tipperah and Commila

Pratihara king, Mahipala I, son of Mahendrapala We feel that the suggestion is very unlikely We have an inscription of Mahendrapāla in Northern Bengal and so far no Pratihara inscription has been found in East Bengal Moreover, Mahipala the Pratihara king, in his early years of rule had to wage a civil war and had also to face the terrible enemy Indra III. Therefore he can hardly be expected to conquer East Bengal before the 3rd year of his reign

1 *Ibid*

2 E I XIV pp 328 ff

3 *Bharatavarṣa* BS 1344 pp 264

4 I C IX. pp 121 ff

districts were included in Samatata R. C. Majumdar[1] has rightly suggested that it was hardly possible for Mahīpāla from his centre in Anga or Magadha to reduce East Bengal without overrunning West and North Bengal It may, therefore, be accepted that before the 3rd year of his reign Mahīpāla had recovered North Bengal (Varendra), Western Bengal (Rādha) and South-East Bengal (Samatata)

An inscription incised on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha in the "*Bhumī sparśamudrā*" is dated in the 11th year of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Mahīpāla [2] Another inscription of the same year was found among the ruins of the Nālandā monastery. "According to this inscription, the great temple of Nālandā was restored, after being burnt down, by a man named Bālāditya, a jyāviṣa of Telādhaka (Telārā) who had emigrated from Kauśāmbī, in the 11th year of Mahīpāladeva."[3] For the reasons already advanced Mahīpāla of these inscriptions should be identified with Mahīpāla I.

A Nepal palm-leaf MS of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā was copied at Nālandā in the 6th year of the reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Paramasaugata-Mahīpāla-*

1. H B R. I p. 137.
2. M A S B V p 75.
3 *Ibid*, p. 75. The reference to the burning down of the great temple of Nalandā reminds us of the Nālanda inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra (A S. I A R 1930 34, pp 212 ff, E I XXI, pp. 291, ff) Vipulaśrīmitra was the disciple of Aśokaśrīmitra, who was a disciple of Maitriśrīmitra, who was a disciple of Karunaśrīmitra The inscription states that a Vaṅgāla army set fire to Somapura and Karuṇāśrīmitra died He may be placed in the last part of the 10th or early part of the 11th century. Samapuravihāra has been identified with Paharpur (A S I A R, 1927 28, pp 105 ff) in Rajshahi district of North Bengal. According to Tāranātha (I.A IV. p 366), after Mahīpāla, his son Śreṣṭha ruled for 3 years, and his maternal uncle Chāṇaka for 29 years At this time the people of Bhengala revolted and entered Magadha, but were subdued J. C. Ghosh (I.C I pp. 291 ff) makes this Bengal invasion responsible for the burning of the Nalanda temple referred to in the Nālandā inscription belonging to the 11th year of Mahīpāla. Tāranātha is not reliable for chronology, but even his account refers to an invasion of Magadha by the people of Bhengala after Mahīpala I Therefore, we feel that it is not possible to connect the burning of the temple, of Nālandā with the account of Taranātha or Vipulaśrimitra's inscription. The temple may have been burnt through some natural causes If a foreign invasion be deemed necessary for this catastrophe to happen, it may have happened in the time of Vigrahapāla II.

opinion, and scholars like H C Ray,[1] Jayasval,[2] and A. Ghosh[3] have followed Bendall But distinguished scholars like Sylvain Levi,[4] R C. Majumdar[5] and Mirashi[6] have cast doubts on this identification No Chedi ruler is known to have assumed a title ending in "avaloka" The phrase "Gaudadhvaja" suggests some authority over Gauda, but there is no evidence that the Kalachuri king Gāngeyadeva had any pretension to suzerainty over Bengal There is no other evidence to prove Gangeyadeva's supremacy over Tirhut R P Chanda[7] points out that as Magadha was under the Palas, and the territory to the west under the Chandelas it is difficult to believe that the Kalachuri king would rule over Mithila. R C Majumdar[8] suggested that the date 1076 may be referred to the Śaka era and so equivalent to 1154 A D, and Gangeyadeva Punyāvaloka of the Colophon should be identified with Gangeyadeva, son of Nānyadeva of Mithilā, who came to the throne in 1097 A. D[9] One Nanyadeva is mentioned by Sarangadeva, the author of the Sangitaratnākara, as one of the authors on music In the Colophon, Nanyadeva gives his own opinion on music

sion of Gangeyadeva, and soon after this Banaras passed into the hands of the Chedis The learned scholar held that Tirabhukti was never recovered by the Palas We have positive evidence that Mithila was in the possession of Mahipala in his 48th year, and therefore, according to Bannerji, the 48th year of Mahipala should be earlier than 1020 A D, when Gangeya deva was master of Mithila The longest reign attributed to Mahīpāla is 52 years by Taranātha and Bannerji takes it as most probably correct So the reign of Mahipala must have been over by 1023-24 A D The Sarnath inscription which refers to *Gauḍeśvara* Mahipala, is dated 1026 A D, and according to Bannerji, Nayapala came to the throne between 1025 and 1030 A D (*Ibid* p 76) Therefore, Mahipala's reign extended beyond 1023 24 A D It is therefore clear that the 48th year of Mahīpala's reign was later than 1019 20 A D, and if Bendall's identification is accepted Mahīpala must have recovered Tirhut after 1019 20 A D

1 D H N I I p 317

2 J B O R S IX pp 300 ff

3 I C VII pp 3 ff

4 Le Nepal, II p 202, Note 1, quoted by Majumdar in I H Q VII pp 679 ff

5 I H Q VII pp 679 ff

6 A B O R I XXIII, (Silver Jubilee Volume) pp 291 ff

7 *Gauḍarajamala*, p 42 note, quoted by R C. Majumdar (I H Q VII. pp 679 ff

8 I H Q VII pp 679 ff

9 J B O R S IX pp. 304 ff

under the names of Nanyapati, Nanya, Mahasamantadhipati, Dharmavaloka, Dharmadharabhupa, Mithileśvara and Karnatakakulabhusana[1] This Nanyadeva is certainly the king of of Mithila of the same name, and if he had the epithet Dharmavaloka, his son Gangeyadeva may have been "Punyavaloka" A Ghosh[2] points out that "the word *Samvat* is not usually used singly in connection with the Śaka era" Kielhorn[3] remarked that out of 400 Śaka dates of inscriptions there are only five in which the word Śaka is not mentioned, of which three are spurious or suspicious and two are in verse Mirashi[4] referred to the fact that we rarely find Śaka dates in the inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries in North-East India Majumdar,[5] on the authority of the Colophon of the commentary of Bharata's Natyasastra written by Nanya,[6] holds that as Nanya had broken the powers of "Vanga and Gauda," his son Gangeyadeva may have assumed the title of "Gaudadhvaja" On the other hand, A Ghosh[7] tries to prove that Gangeyadeva, who held Banaras and invaded Gauda and Anga, occupied Tirhut for some time Mirashi[8] also finds no inherent impossibility in the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva ruling over Tirhut But Mirashi has tried to knock down the whole theory of the Kalachuri occupation of Tirhut by pointing out that he saw a copy of the Ramayana (a photostat copy of the Colophon under discussion) in Lahore in 1940, and found out that what Bendall had read as Gaudadhvaja was really *Garudadhvaja* In the accompanying facsimile, given by Mirashi, the word "Garuda" is clear, and it cannot be read as Gauda All speculations about the alleged connection between Gangeyadeva and Gauda should cease According to Mirashi, Gangeyadeva of the Colophon who had the biruda Punyavaloka and was a

1 J A H R S I pp 55 ff
2 I C VII p 7
3 E I IX p 128
4 A B O R I XXIII pp 291 ff
5 I H Q VII pp 679 ff
6 J.A.H R S I pp 55 ff
7 I C VII pp 3 ff
8 A B O R I XXIII pp 291 ff

worshipper of Viṣṇu (Garudadhvaja), could not be the Kalachuri king Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya No Kalachuri king had any biruda ending in "*avaloka*," and they were worshippers of Śiva, not of Visnu. Tha earliest known date when Gāngeyadeva is referred to with imperial titles such as *Mahārājādhirāja* etc is 1037-38 A. D, the date of the Piawan inscription[1] In a stone-inscription, recently discovered in Makundpur, near Rewāh, Gāngeyadeva is mentioned as *Mahārāja* and *Mahārha-Mahā-Mahattaka*[2] It is possible that in 1019 A D, the date of the last mentioned inscription, Gāngeyadeva was not an imperial ruler. A Mahoba inscription[3] informs us that "the moon of the Kalachuri (Gāngeyadeva) and king Bhoja worshipped full of fear, like a pupil, the Chandela prince Vidyādhara, who had caused the destruction of Rājyapāla, the king of Kanauj" The defeat of Rājyapāla took place in 1019 A. D, and therefore in that year, or soon after, Vidyādhara must have overawed Gāngeyadeva Therefore, it is not very safe to identify Gāngeyadeva of the Colophon with the Kalachuri king of the same name, who appears to have won most of his successes long after 1019 20 A D The proposal to identify him with Gāngeyadeva, son of Nānyadeva is very doubtful Even Nānyadeva entitled himself "*Mahāsamantadhipati*,"[4] and we have no evidence that his son Gāngeyadeva assumed the imperial title of *Mahārajādhiraja* *Maharajādhiraja* Gāngeyadeva Punyāvaloka of the Colophon is descended from the dynasty of the moon, and we have no authority to connect Nanyadeva with the lunar dynasty Mirashi[5] has suggested that Gāngeyadeva of the Colophon may have been a Rāstrakūta. Rāstrakūta princes have been known to have assumed birudas ending in "*avaloka*."[6] They were worshippers of Visnu, and used the

1. C A S R XII. p 113
2 E.I. XXIV p 118, note 4
3 *Ibid* I p 122
4 J.A.H R S I pp 56.
5 A B O R I XXIII pp 291 ff
6. Dantidurga's biruda was Khadgavaloka (Bomb Gaz. Vol. I. pt. 2. p. 389).

Garuda seal for their copper-plates In later records (like the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV) they claim descent from the moon It is possible that Gāngeyadeva Punyāvaloka may belong to the Rastrakūta dynasty, whose inscription has been found at Bodh Gaya [1] It is possible that this local Rāstrakūta dynasty was ruling over Mithilā and its members had assumed mperial titles The findspot of the inscription in Gaya does not prove that they ruled over that district It is a mere religious inscription Really, the question is still open At any rate, whoever may have been the Gangeyadeva, whose rule over Mithila in 1019-20 A. D is known, it is beyond dispute that Mahipala I recovered North Bihar in or before the 48th year of his reign

From an inscription discovered at Sarnāth we learn that Mahipala, the lord of the Gaudas, had caused Sthirapāla and his younger brother Vasantapāla to establish in Kasi hundreds of precious monuments of his glory The inscription is dated in (V) Samvat 1083 (1026 A D) [2] The inscription is obscurely worded But it has been generally accepted that it suggests possession of Sārnāth by Mahipāla A Ghosh[3] differs from this assumption It is true that repair and constructions of temples in a renowned religious place like Sārnāth by any ruler do not necessarily prove his political sway over the place Kings of Ceylon and Java built temples in Bodha-Gaya and Naland a respectively However, the onus of proving that Sārnāth was not under Mahīpāla lies on those who deny that the Sār nāth inscription suggests Mahipala's supremacy over the region The invasions of Mahmud Ghazni, the defeat of the Pratihara king Rajyapāla, and the confederacy led by Vidyādhara to punish Rājyapala, must have brought about chaos in the upper Gangetic valley, and Mahipāla, true to the legacy of his ancestors, may have taken advantage of the Pratihara's misfortunes, and extended his authority westward up to

1. *Buddha Gaya* pp 193 ff
2 I A XIV pp 139 40 ff
3 I C VII pp 3 ff

Banaras. Soon afterwards, Banaras passed into the hands of of the Chedis before 1033 A D, as it was then under Ganga, who may be identified with Gāngeyadeva [1]

Mahipāla, then, ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom which included large parts of Bengal, the whole of Bihar, and possibly the Eastern Uttara Pradesh [2] Never was the Pāla dominion so large in extent after the death of Devapāla, and therefore, Mahīpāla may be rightly regarded as the second founder of the Pala empire But this re-emergence of the Pālas

1. Elliot, History of India, Vol. II. p. 123, I C VII. p. 7.

2 From the Tirumalai and Tiruvalangadu plates we learn that the army of Rājendra Chola defeated Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti Ranaśura of Southern Raḍha and Govindachandra of Vangala Prof N K. A Sastri suggests that from the tone of the inscriptions it appears that Mahīpala exercised some sort of overlordship over these princes and their overthrow culminated in the final struggle with Mahīpala (The Cholas, pp 251 2). K. S Aiyangar (J R.A S 1937, p 85) and H P. Sastri (M.A S B III, p 10) held the same opinion *But R. C. Majumdar (H B R.I p 139)* and H C. Ray (D H N I pp 320 21) think that the empire of Mahipala was much circumscribed, and Dharmapala, Ranaśura and Govindachandra were independent kings We know from the Irda copper plate that Raḍha and Daṇḍabhukti lay in the dominion of the Kāmboja Pālas Dharmapala may have been a scion of this dynasty, prabably a successor of Nayapala, and he held Daṇḍabhukti (Midnapur and Balasore districts), while Dakṣina Raḍha was under the Śura dynasty Therefore it is urged that Mahipala s kingdom in Bengal was confined to the North and a part of East Bengal together with Northern Rāḍha i e. that portion of the present Burdwan division that lies to the north of the Ajay river In the present state of our knowledge there is no ground to prove one or the other of the suggestions But it may be pointed out that Mahipala I may have exercised some sort of suzerainty over Dharmapala and Ranaśura The Kamboja Palas had under their control Northern Bengal as well (Dinajpur pillar inscription), but we know that Mahipala had recovered it. It is quite reasonable to expect that when he was successful in overthrowing the Kambojas in North Bengal and extending his authority in East Bengal, he may have destroyed the Kamboja rule in Western and South Western-Bengal as well i e in Rāḍha and Danḍabhukti Nayapāla (the issuer of the Irda copper plate) or his successor may have suffered at the hands of Mahipala Dharmapala may or may not have been of Kamboja descent Even *if he was of the Kāmboja Pala dynasty, Mahīpala may have* appointed him to hold charge of Dandabhukti Instances of appointment of the scions of defeated inimical families to gubernatorial posts are not rare in Indian history. Ranasura may have been another vassal ruler governing Southern Raḍha The break up of Western Bengal into two administrative divisions—Southern Rāḍha and Danḍabhukti which were under the Kamboja rulers before, as one political unit—proves the political sagacity of Mahīpala in not letting the large division stand by itself and in not entrusting Dharma pala (a scion of the hostile Kāmboja family ?) with the government of a large territory Govindachandra, whose relationship with the main Chandra line is not known, may also have enjoyed some such subordinate status

as one of the predominant powers in India, embroiled them in conflicts with the Chedis, the Chalukyas and the Cholas.

The conflict with the Cholas is based on the positive epigraphic evidence. The Tirumalai inscription of the 13th year of Rājendra Chola I states "(He) seized by (his) great warlike army (the following) Oddavişaya which was difficult to approach (and which he subdued in) close fights, the good Kosalai nadu, where Brahmanas assembled, Tandabhutti, in whose gardens bees abounded (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapala (in) hot battle, Takkana Lāḍam, whose fame reached (all directions), and (which he occupied), after having forcibly attacked Ranasūra, Vangāladeśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (and from which Govindachandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant, elephants of rare strength and treasures of women (which he seized), after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahīpala, decked (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uttira-Lādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gangā where waters dashed against bathing places (*tirtha* covered with sand)"[1] The northern invasion of Rājendra Chola's army should be placed roughly between 1021 and 1025 A D[2] The Tiruvalangādu plates[3] describe the conquests in a slightly different order According to these, the attack on Ranasūra preceded that on Dharmapāla, the overthrow of Dharmapāla led the Chola general to the banks of the Gaṅgā, and Mahīpāla was defeated on the return march of the Chola army. N K A. Sastri[4] regards the Tamil *praśasti* (Tirumalai inscription), which was recorded almost immediately after the campaign, as more authentic Oḍḍa Vişaya is Orissa, Kosalainadu is Mahākosala or Dakşinakosala Then he came to Danḍabhukti, whose king was Dharmapala There is some difference of opinion about the location of Danḍabhukti H P Sastri[5] and K. S. Aiyan-

1. E.I IX pp. 229 ff
2. D H N I I p. 318
3. A S I A R 1911 12 pp. 171 ff
4. The Cholas I p 251.
5. M.A.S B. III. p 10.

ger[1] placed it in Bihar and identified it with the modern town of Bihar, which was also known as Uddantapura or Adwand-vihara But the identification can no longer stand in view of a positive epigraphic evidence to the contrary The Irda copper-plate of Nayapala[2] refers to a grant of land in Danda bhuktimandala in Vardharmanabhukti The inscription belongs to the later part of the 10th century, and was obtained from the Zamindar of Irda in Balasore district of Orissa Vardhamanabhukti was undoubtedly a political division, which must have included a large part of the modern Burdwan division in West Bengal, and there is no authority at all to hold that any part of Bihar, much less so far west as the town of Bihar, ever formed a part of Vardhamanabhukti It was a part of Nagarabhukti in the time of Dharmapala and Devapala The exact geographica position of Dandabhukti is made clear by the Midnapur plates of Śaśanka[3] From the plate I we learn that the province (*bhukti*) of Dandabhukti was near Utkala (Odra), as it was governed along with Utkala by Somadatta, according to Plate 2, Dandabhukti was ruled by Śubhakirtti R C Majumdar[4] therefore concluded that "the present boundary between Balasore and Midnapur districts roughly corresponds to that between Dandabhukti and Odra or Utkala" The epigraphic evidence has thus confirmed the opinion of R D Bannerji,[5] expressed many years ago, that "Dandabhukti was the marchland between Orissa and Bengal, corresponding to the modern districts of Midnapore and Balasore"

After defeating the kings of Odra and Mahakosala, the Chola general entered Dandabhukti and defeated Dharmapala Then he appears to have invaded Daksina Radha[6] and defeated

1 J I H II pp 317 ff
2 E I XXII, pp 150 ff
3 J A S.B L. XI pp 1 ff
4. *Ibid*
5 M A S B V p 71
6 There had been some controversy about the identity of Takkana Laḍam and Uttiraladam of the inscriptions (M A S B V pp 71 72 D H N I I pp 319-20) B t it is now accepted that these refer to Uttara and Daksina Radha well known divisions of Western Bengal

Raṇaśūra. Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Uttara Rāḍha together constituted most of West Bengal and a part of North Bengal. From Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha the Chola army, instead of moving further north, rushed to the South-East and defeated Govindachandra of *Vaṅgāladeśa (Eastern Bengal)*. *Then the army turned* west and defeated Mahīpāla (who fled), and occupied Uttara Rāḍha, thus realising the ambition of reaching the Gaṅgā. It is important to note that it did not cross the Gaṅgā.

A manuscript copy of a drama "*Chaṇḍakauśika*" by Kṣhemiśvara was discovered by H. P Sastri. It contains a verse which refers to the play being enacted in the presence of a king Mahīpāla, who is compared to Chandragupta, and the verse also mentions the Karṇāṭas, who are compared with the Nandas.[1] The suggestion is apparent that a king Mahīpāla exterminated the Karnāṭas as Chandragupta had destroyed the Nandas. H. P. Sastri[2] identified the Mahīpāla of the drama with Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty, and the Karṇāṭas with the Cholas. Bannerji[3] accepted the suggestion, and he held that the fact that Rājendra Chola's army did not cross the Ganges may be explained on the supposition that Mahīpāla actually defeated the Cholas and celebrated the victory by witnessing the enactment of the play. But the identification of the Cholas with the Karṇātas has been shown to be untenable.[4] H. C. Ray has suggested that the Karṇāṭa army may be identified with the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, who were at this time the rulers of Karṇāṭa. Some[5] have taken the Karṇāṭas to refer to the Kalachuri invasions of North-Eastern India, and held that the Karṇāṭas may have formed a part of the Kalachuri army. It is important to bear in mind that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were generally regarded as the Karṇāṭas, and there were Mahīpālas in the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynas-

1. J.A.S.B. LXII, pp. 250-51.
2. M.A.S.B. III, p. 10.
3. M.A.S B. V. p. 73.
4. D.H.N.I. I. p. 316, note 3.
5. J.B.O.R.S. IX. pp. 300 ff.

ty. Āiyangar[1] suggested that Mahīpāla and the Karṇāṭas of the Chandkauśika may be identified with Mahīpāla I of the Pratihāra dynasty and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas respectively.

The Pāla king Mahipāla I is said by Tāranātha to have ruled for 52 years. The latest known date is the year 48 in the Imadpur inscriptions.[2] So he must have ruled, at least, for 48 years. The Sārnāth inscription, mentioning the Gauḍeśvara Mahīpāla I, is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1083 (1026 A. D.). According to R D. Bannerji,[3] Mahīpāla was dead when the inscription was engraved. R. C. Majumdar,[4] at first, placed the death of Mahīpāla in 1026 A.D.. But the Sārnāth inscription, written in verse, does not prove that Mahīpāla was dead at that time. The latest limit of his reign is set by a Tibetan tradition that Nayapāla was a contemporary of Karṇa, and that Atiśa brought about a reconciliation between them.[5] There is a difference of opinion among scholars about the exact date of Atiśa's departure from India. Atiśa died in 1053 A. D after a stay of 12 or 13 years in Tibet.[6] So he may have left India in 1040 or 1041 A.D.[7] Karna came to the throne in *Cir* 1041 A. D., and he was contemporary with Vigrahapāla III. Nayapāla, who ruled for at least 15 years, must have come to the throne in *Cir.* 1040 A.D.. So the last years of Mahīpāla may be placed in 1039-40 A D, and his

1. J.I.H. II. pp 317 ff. We know that Mahīpāla was defeated by Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king in *Cir.* 916-17 A. D.. But after the departure of Indra to the Deccan, the Gurjara-Prathāra king Mahīpāla I recovered Kanauj, regained a large part of his dominion and made new conquests. In the course of these campaigns he must have defeated the remnant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces in Northern India, and this success was apparently celebrated by the performance of Chanḍakauśika.

2. I A. XIV. p. 165, note 17. Dr. R. C. Majumdar (J A.S.B.L. XVI No. 2, pp. 247-49) reads 148 instead of 48, and assigns it to the Nepal era of 880. And so, according to him, the Imadpur image inscriptions are not dated in the 48th year of Mahipāla's reign but in the 148th year of Nepal era i e. 1028 A. D But the use of Nepal era in Tirhut and the suggestion of Pāla's overlordship over Nepal will await further evidence to be accepted by historians

3 J.B O.R.S XIV, pp. 489 ff.

4. J A S.B. XVII, (N.S.) pp. 1 ff

5. S C. Das, Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 51.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 76, 83.

7. I.A. XVII. p. 211; XVI. p. 230. I.C. VII. pp. 3 ff.

accession in *Cir* 991 A D During the last years of his reign, Mahipala appears to have come into conflict with the Kalachuris The Gurgi inscription of Prabodhasiva[1] appears to refer to a conflict between Gangeyadeva and the Gauda king The Gauda king must have been Mahipala From the Goharwa copper-plate[2] we learn that Gangeyadeva defeated a ruler of Anga who might be Mahipala In 1033 A D when Niyaltigin invaded Banaras it was under Ganga (or Gangeyadeva)[3] Mahipala thus appears to have lost his western dominion to the Kalachuris, and may have even suffered invasion of his home provinces Karna persisted in this offensive policy and invaded Anga which was then under Nayapala, successor of Mahipala I[4]

Estimate of Mahipala

Mahipala justified his long reign and restored the Pala empire to a dignified extent It is possible that the invasions of Mahmud Ghazni may have facilitated his task of conquering and consolidating his dominion without any fear from his hereditary enemies—the Gurjara-Pratiharas Mahipala, a king of a considerable part of Northern India does not appear to have taken any part in resisting the Muslim invasions of India He did not join the Confederacy against the Muslims, who were repeatedly plundering the country and weakening the existing kingdoms It appears that Mahipala did not take a national view of the crisis He may be accused of lack of patriotism and failure to foresee that the Pala dominion also, in the long run, could not escape the nemesis that had over-

1 E I XXII p 129 M A S I No 23 pp 122 ff l ne 41
2 *Ibid* XI p 143 V 17
3 I C VII pp 3 ff
4 J B T S I p 9 note. Manmohan Chakravarty showed that King of Karna was really king Karna —*The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (M A S I No 23 p 21 and note 1) Atisa is said to have brought about peace between Nayapāla and Karna This must have happened before he left for Tibet in 1040 or 1041 According to Fleet (I A XI p 146) and A Ghosh (I C VII pp 10-11) Gāngeyadeva died in early 1041 A D Karna s invasion may have taken place during the last years of Gāngeyadeva

taken the kingdoms of Upper India. The Buddhist Sthavira Ratnākara, living in Vikramaśilā monastery, spoke to the Tibetan Nag-tcho, who was taking Atiśa to Tibet, about the clouds overhanging the horizon. He observed, "The looming signs prognosticate evil for India. Numerous Turuṣkas (Mussalmans) are invading India, and I am much *concerned* at that."[1] It is really strange that while a Sthavira could see the coming danger, Mahīpāla was *unconcerned*. But to be fair to Mahīpāla, it must be admitted that the problems that faced him must have demanded his entire energy and time. The once extensive Pāla empire had been torn into bits, and Bihar and Bengal were parcelled into independent states. Mahīpāla brought back a large part of Northern India under the Pāla rule and re-established the traditional benevolent administration. He was a very popular king, and many works of great public activities in Bengal are associated with him. He was so loved that songs were composed to celebrate the works of his life.[2] The problems of reconquest and reconsolidation were enough to tax his entire energy. Had he plunged himself into the vortex of North-Indian politics complicated by Mahmud of Ghazni's raids, the rapid disintegration of the Pratihāra empire and the rise of new powers like the Chandellas and the Chedis, Mahīpāla might have found himself unable to recover and then retain his own kingdom.

However, with the death of Mahīpāla I, the Pāla empire again began to decline. Rāmapāla attempted a partial rejuvenation, but the essential vitality of the empire had gone. The Chedis of Tripuri, the Karṇātas of Mithilā, the Kaivartas of North Bengal, the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Piṭhi (in Bihar), the Chandras of Kanauj and the Senas of Eastern Bengal hammered at the Pāla kingdom, which ultimately succumbed, and disappeared from the stage of history by the end of the 12th Century.

1. Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow, p. 68.
2. M.A.S.B. III, p. 10.

Conclusion.

A rapid survey of the history of India from the dawn of history to *Cir.* 1000 A. D. brings out clearly the fact that for most of the time Magadha held the *key* to Indian history. The historical period beginning with 600 B. C. saw India divided into numerous states: but almost at the same time began the process of integration, and the lead was taken by Magadha, which under Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Mahāpadma Nanda organised the first historical All-India empire, embracing practically the whole of North India and a large part of South India. The Mauryas under Chandragupta and Aśoka carried on the process to the logical conclusion, and their empire touched the Hindukush to the North-West, Kashmir in the North, the Bay of Bengal in the East and the Arabian Sea in the West. Only the extreme south of the Peninsular India remained out of the territorial limits of the empire; but it can be easily assumed that it was left out because of the self-restraint imposed by Aśoka, and not because of its own strength against the mighty imperialism of the Mauryas. After the death of Aśoka, the process of disintegration asserted itself, and Magadha, and with it, the whole of Northern India fell a prey to the invasions of the Greeks, the Āndhras, the Kaliṅgas the Śakas and ultimately the Kuṣāṇas; the last mentioned established an extensive Indian and extra-Indian empire with its centre in the extreme north-west of India. This was the first Indian Empire, worth the name, to be administered from the north-west corner.

This low state of Magadha, and indeed of India, could not last long. The Kuṣānas had to give way to the rising local spirit of the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas, and the Bhāraśivas. But it was, again, Magadha under the imperial Guptas, which re-established an All-India empire, and released the renascent spirit of vigorous and confident political nationalism and cultural heritage to have its full and creative play on an All-India basis. The establishment of the Gupta empire was as much a cause as an effect of the restlessness and impatience of India's unconquerable spirit to live its own again, and, if necessary, to

assimilate foreign cultural influence into Indian culture, and thus triumph over any sign of political and cultural bondage of the foreigners The process of resistance began earlier than the rise of the Gupta empire, and all these diverse streams, running to the same end, were mingled in the mighty flood of the Gupta imperialism, which consequently became the repre*sentative of New-India, confident and rejuvenated* That is why the Gupta Age is the *golden age* of India in both its political and cultural fields Magadha again resumed its traditional role as the integrating medium of Indian cultural and political aspirations. In a way it is at once both Greece and Rome of ancient India

The break up of the Gupta empire, the invasions of the Hūṇas and the sudden emergence and exit of Yaśodharman gave rude shocks to Magadha from which it could not recover for a long time The struggles of the later Guptas and the Maukharis, and the rise of the Gauḍas under Jayanāga and Śaśanka may be viewed in broader perspective as competitive attempts to continue the Gupta traditions When Magadha failed, and the Gauḍas and the Maukharis collided, Harṣa from his centre in Kanauj, far west of Magadha, emerged as the *successful champion* of the centripetal tendency amidst centrifugal forces The death of Harṣa gave a new chance to Magadha to reassert its traditional role as the leader of the forces of union, and under Ādityasena and Devagupta an extensive North Indian empire with its base in Magadha was established But the sands were fast running out, new powers, like Yaśovarman of Kanauj, Lalitaditya of Kashmir, the Śailas of Pundra and Central India, and the Bhagadattas of Kāmarupa and Orissa battered Magadha, which had to surrender its claim to suzerainty for some time In a way, the downfall of the later Guptas registered a fatal blow to the political supremacy of Magadha The Palas did not belong to Magadha, but they adopted it as their political home, and under them Magadha shared in the splendour of the Pala Age But after the death of Mahīpala I, Magadha lost even this reflected glory,

and we find Rāmapala building the capital Rāmāvati in Gauda It is no doubt true that the last flicker of the Pala rule is found in Magadha, as Govindapala was the last king of the Pala dynasty Soon after him the Muslims overran Magadha The centre of Indian history shifted to Delhi and Agra Shershah in the 16th century, though practically a native of Bihar, transferred his centre of activities from Bihar to Delhi after he had won the empire of India It may be asserted without any fear of contradiction that with or after Mahipala I certainly the centre of Indian history shifted away from Magadha The *key* to Indian history was lost by Magadha which had proved its *reliable safe* for centuries

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that the best days of ancient India were those when Magadha was the hub Most cherished treasures and memories of the people, whether in the realm of international relations, political greatness, cultural pre eminence artistic development, literary excellence, thought and religion, are in one way or the other closely associated with Magadha Buddhism—the first world religion—found in Magadha its most fertile soil. The grammarians Pānini and Patañjali and the practical and wise politician and political thinker Kautilya radiated their imperishable light from Magadha The first great internationalist, who tried to build up a foreign policy not on the basis of exploitation and Power politics but on service to humanity, was Aśoka, who proclaimed and preached his theory of international fellow feeling from Pataliputra. The sculptors of the Mauryan age have left to posterity the undying polish on their stone-works The all sided grand national efflorescence of the Indian civilisation in the Gupta Age was directed and canalised from Magadha India is rightly proud of her ancient universities, and the most famous of them—Nalanda, Vikramaśila and Oddantapura—were situated in Magadha, whither came students from all parts of the then known world to drink at the ocean of learning The famous names of ancient and early medieval history are associated with Magadha The fact of Magadha being, thus, the

from the wells of Chandragupta, Aśoka or Vikrmāditya Delhi, owing to its central position for an all-India empire, could not lose its importance.

As a matter of fact a critical and comparative study of Magadha, through the centuries of its past history, impresses on readers the idea that Magadha, since the end of the Mauryan age, was gradually going down. Her best days belong to the Mauryan period, she *then* reached the height of political greatness, international prestige and spiritual leadership. Then, came a temporary set-back; under the Guptas the good days returned, but in more than one sense we lose the Mauryan touch. The empire was not so extensive, the moral plane was not as high, the sculpture does not over-reach the Lion Capital, and we seek in vain for a Kauṭilya. The Gupta Age is the *classic age* of Indian *civilisation*, but after the end of the Gupta empire the downward trend of Magadha is more pronounced. In the time of the later Guptas and the Pālas, great strides are made in the realm of religion, thought, art and politics, but the excellence of the Gupta Age is not even approached, except, perhaps, in the field of education. Thus, the history of Magadha is *zig-zag* curve with the next top always lower than the former.

APPENDICES

Appendix Ia.

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS,
BRITISH MUSEUM,
LONDON W. C. 1.

14th Apr. 48.

Dear Mr. Sinha,

The report from the Laboratory on the late Gupta coins arranges them in the following order of purity:

					Gold
1. Skandagupta.	B.M C. 428	Specific	gravity	15 3	78°/o
2 Kumāragupta II	B.M.C 571	,,	,,	15.38	79°/o
3. Purugupta.	B.M.C. 550	,,	,,	15.06	77°/o
4. Prakāsāditya.	B.M.C. 552	,,	,,	15	77°/o
5. Narasiṁhagupta.	B.M.C. 560	,,	,,	14.1	71°/o
6. Narasımhagupta.	B.M.C. 565	,,	,,	12.29	54°/o
7. Vainyagupta.	B.M C 589	,,	,,	14.54	73°/o
8. Kumāragupa II. (? III)	B M.C. 576	,,	,,	12.26	54°/o
9. Śaśānka	B.M.C. 608	,,	,,	12.65	58°/o
10 Viṣnugupta.	B.M.C. 598	,,	,,	11.32	43°/o
11. Jaya (gupta ?).	B.M.C. 614	,,	,,	10.55	34°/o

These show that you are right in attributing the base *Ku* coins to a Kumāragupta III and in suggesting that Vainya is earlier than appears ın the B M. Catalogue. The dıfference between Skandagupta and Kumāragupta is too insignificant to make any serious difference in tıme probable.

Yours sincerely,

J. Allan

B. P. Sinha Esq

Appendix Ib.

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS,
BRITISH MUSEUM,
LONDON W. C. 1.
24*th* *Apr.* 48.

Dear Mr Sinha,

The gold coin of Skandagupta, no. 417, proves to be of the same quality as the other—75% pure gold. The Śaśāṅka (no 611) on the other hand is copper with a plating of silver which probably had a thin wash of gold over it any way.

Yours sincerely,

J. Allan.

B P. Sinha Esq ,
c/o The School of Oriental Studies.

Appendix Ic.

DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS,
BRITISH MUSEUM,
LONDON, W. C 1.
3 *May* 48.

Dear Mr. Sinha,

The following are the purities of the gold coins you asked about.

Skandagupta

No.	417	74°/ₒ
	418.	74°/ₒ
	419.	67°/ₒ
	422.	67°/ₒ
	423.	72°/ₒ
	426.	79°/ₒ
	427.	76°/ₒ
	428.	79°/ₒ

Purugupta (Hoey.) 70°/ₒ

Yours sincerely,

J. Allan.

APPENDIX 2.

THE COINAGE OF THE MAUKHARIS.

Silver coins of the Maukhari kings Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman have been found in the Uttar Pradesh.[1] But the dates on these coins are not clear and therefore have given rise to diverse readings and numerous speculations about the era or the eras to which they belong. The different readings of the dates on the coins by scholars may be best illustrated by the table given below.

King.	Cunningham[2]	Rapson[3]	Burn[4]	Brown[5]	Dikshit[6]
Īśānavarman	55? or 155 257	54 55	4x ?	4x xx5 ?	54 55 57 245 257
Śarvavarman		58	234 ? 23x ?	(2)34 (2)3x	258 259 25x 58
Avantivarman			250 57(?) or 67(?) 71	250 —57 —70	260 26x 67 (6) 71

1. J R.A S. 1906 pt. II. pp. 843 ff.
2. C A.S.R IX. p 27, Plate V. No. 20-22; *Ibid.* No. XVI. p. 81.
3. Indian Coins. p 27.
4. J.R.A S. 1906, part II pp 843 ff.
5. Catalogue of the coins of the Guptas, Maukharis etc. in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, pp. 39-40.
6. Aravamuthan, *op. cit.* p. 103 and footnote 4.

The first point that strikes us, besides the different readings of the dates on the coins by the learned scholars, is that some coins have their dates in two and some in three digits Burn[1] suggested that the two digit dates may be taken to belong to a Maukhari era, the three digit ones being in the Gupta era, some even in the Kalachuri era if the reading of 257 on one of the coins of Īśanavarman by Cunningham is to be accepted From the Harāhā inscription it is clear that the Maukharis also used the Vikrama era on their inscriptions[2] Therefore, if the theory of Burn is to be accepted, it means that altogether four eras were simultaneously used by the Maukharis on their coins and inscriptions, including an era started by themselves. This is certainly a contingency which is obviously very improbable, and cannot be entertained without definite and overwhelming proofs, which are conspicuously lacking It is difficult to believe that the Maukharis started an era of their own, when we do not find any instance of the alleged era in their inscriptions, and at the same time it is hardly comprehensible that they should use any other era or eras on their coins, when they are alleged to have used their own era on, at least, some of them The theory of the use of the Kalachuri era is also incorrect In this part of the country where the coins of the Maukharis have been found, there is hardly any coin or inscription found which may be definitely assigned to the Kalachuri era[3]

Therefore, the only possible theory appears to be to take the dates in the Gupta era, which was very generally current in this area The coins with two digits may be examples of "omitted hundreds," and we should put "2" in the hundredth place on the two digit coins

But even this simplification does not solve the problem nor

1. J R A S 1906, part II pp 843 ff
2. E I XIV pp 110 ff
3. B s List E I XX Appendix The inscriptions of the Uchchhakalpa Mahārājas, the Patiākella plate of Sambhuyaśas, the Sohaval plate of Mahārāja Subandhu are certainly not in the Kalachuri era, at least their assignment is not without doubt

reconciles the different readings on the coins Cunningham[1] read 257 on one of the coins of Īsanavarman and assigned it to the Gupta era But it is certainly puzzling, to say the least, that he did not discuss this coin nor give its photographic impression in his "Coins of Medieval India" Elsewhere, he noticed three coins of Śantivarman (Īsānavarman ?), on each of which he read 55, which he would have completed to 155 if he had been sure that Śantivarma (?) was the same king who is mentioned in the Aphsad inscription [2] He, later on, appears to have doubted his reading of the dates on the coins and in his "Coins of Medieval India" he mentions two specimens of the coins of Īsanavarman from Ahichchhatra, and gives their impressions as well, but he remarks, "the date in front of face, not read," and from the impressions of the coins given in the plate it is impossible to read the dates with any degree of certainty [3] Thus it is clear that no reliance can be placed on the readings of the coins of Īsānavarman by Cunningham

According to Fleet[4] on one of the coins of Īsanavarman (no 22 of Plate V, C A S R IX) there are two marks which may perhaps be the numerical symbols for ' 40", "60" or "70" and "5", but they are very imperfect and the reading is doubtful Cunningham had read "55" on the same coin [5] Fleet has cast doubt on the reading, but has not fixed any alternate reading because the dates are note clear

Smith[6] has read "54" on the same coin of Īśanavarman which Cunningham had described as 'not read '[7] Smith refers to another coin in Dr Hoey's collection which is dated "55", and he thinks that it is probably of Īśanavarman According to the learned author three coins in the British Museum dated "54", but not belonging to Toramāna, may also belong to Īśā-

1 C A S R XVI p 81
2 *Ibid* IX p 27 plate V No 20 22
3 C M I p 19 Pl 11, 12
4. I A XIV p 68.
5 C A S R IX p 27 Plate V no 22
6 J A S B. LXII (1894) p 193
7 C M I Pl 11, 12

navarman[1] Rapson[2] also supports the reading of Smith, and Dikshit[3] accepts it Thus, there appears to be some amount of agreement among scholars on this reading, but it is not clear *as to which era the date belongs Smith[4] held that it was the* same era as that used on the coins of Toramana—the White Hūna era starting in 456 or 448 A D But this does not appear to be an acceptable theory, as it necessitates the as sumption of the circulation of at least three or four eras in the Maukhari kingdom But if we hold that the coin is dated in 254 of the Gupta era (573 74 A D) it leads to a serious contradiction as the coins of Śarvavarman are dated in 234 and the coin of Avantivarman in 250

Thus the dates on the coins of Īsanavarman are so imperfect and hence so doubtful that nothing can be made out of them B B *Vidyavinoda, therefore, rightly omitted any reference* about dates on the coins of Iśanavarman in his Supplementary Catalogue[5]

Similar uncertainty prevails about the dates on the coins of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman as well There is some amount of agreement on the date "58" on one of the coins of Śarvavarman But on two coins of Śarvavarman, Burn[6] reads "234" and "23x" but observes that the "reading '200' is not quite certain" If the readings of Burn are accepted together with *the readings of Smith and Rapson, then we have to assume* the use of two different eras on the coins of the same Maukhari ruler Dikshit, in order to avoid the anomaly, amends the readings of the coins of Śarvavarman, but in absence of any grounds for his alterations, we cannot accept his readings as opposed to the readings of other scholars Another difficulty is that the reading of "234" for the coin of Śarvavarman, which

1 J A S B LXIII p 193
2 Indian Coins p 27 Il iv, 13
3 See the table above
4 J A S B LXIII p 193
5 Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum (non-Muhammedan series) Calcutta pp 36-37
6 J R A S 1900 pp 843 ff

is equivalent to 553 A D, is against the testimony of the Haraha inscription, according to which Īśanavarman was ruling in 554 A D[1] In view of all these points, it is safe to conclude that in the present state of our knowledge we can attach no importance to the coins of Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman for the specific purpose of fixing their chronology.

The coins of Avantivarman further complicate the situation On one of his coins the date is read as "250", and it is said to belong to the Gupta era[2] But it is against the reading "257" on one of the coins of Isanavarman[3] If the two digit coins are also in the same era as the three-digit ones, and therefore in the Gupta era, then the reading "250", which is considered to be "distinct", contradicts all the dates, as read, on the coins of Īśanavarman and Śarvavarman If the reading of "57" on one of the coins of Avantivarman is accepted,[4] then it is difficult to explain the date "58" (?) on the coin of Śarvavarman Piers[5] had imagined that it was possible that Avantivarman had rebelled and set himself up as an independent ruler in 250 G E (569 70 A D) But the discovery of the Nalanda seals has conclusively proved that Avantivarman was the son of Śarvavarman, and there is no ground to imagine his rebellion in 568 A D. Therefore, the readings of the dates on the coins of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman must be wrong Burn[7] appeared to be sure of "250", but felt that "57" may be "67", while Dikshit changed "250' into "260" Even if we accept the readings of Dikshit, we have to allot a reign of hardly three or four years to Śarvavarman, which appears to be too short for him as he has left many coins and inscriptions and even seals

Dikshit's readings have one great advantage that they re-

1 E I XIV pp 110 ff, I A XLVI pp 125 ff
2 J R A S 1906 pp 843 ff
3 C A S R XVI p 81
4 J R A S 1906 pp 843 ff
5 The Maukharis pp 162 63
6. E I XXIV pp 283 ff
7 J R A S 1906 pp 843 ff

concile all the contradictions involved in the different readings by the scholars, and the suggested readings also do away with the need of assuming different eras, and all of them can be assigned to the Gupta era[1] But unfortunately, we do not know the grounds on which Dikshit based his revised readings His paper, which he submitted to the Second Oriental Conference, was not published in its Proceedings, and we do not *know if it is published anywhere* Aravamuthan[2] refers to this and gives the conclusions of Dikshit without giving his reasons The readings are so much at variance with those of the other learned scholars that it is impossible to accept the opinion of Dikshit without actual verification of the coins under review But now it is impossible N G Majumdar observes, "Through the courtesy of Mr R D Bannerji I had occasion to examine the hoard of the Maukhari coins (discovered in the Fyjabad district), now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I am sorry to say that the date marks on the coins of Īśanavarman (as well of other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared, and as such it is impossible to say at which particular dates these coins were issued So it is better not to infer anything from them and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct I may add that Mr Bannerji is also of the same opinion and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with care, [3] Brown[4] would also 'hesitate to accept' the readings of dates on these coins of the Maukhari kings B B Vidyavinoda does not refer to the dates of the coins of the Maukhari kings, when he describes them in the Supplementary Catalogue[5] Aravamuthan, who has discussed the subject very thoroughly, concluded that, "We have, thus, very little justification for building elaborate arguments on the

1 See table above
2 Aravamuthan *op cit* 103 and footnote 4.
3 I A XLV pp 125 ff
4 Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Maukharis etc in the Provincial Museum Lucknow Introduction p v
5 Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum Calcutta (non Muhammedan Series) pp 36-37

basis of these readings. They are so various and fanciful... that little reliance can be placed on them "[1]

In view of the discussion above, we are disposed to brush aside the evidence of the dates on the coins of the Maukhari kings for the purpose of building the chronology of the period. Even if the readings "54" and '55" on the coins of Īśānavarman be correct, as there is some amount of understanding between scholars on this, it is not certain to which era they belong, and so long as it is not settled nothing can be concluded about the dates of the kings on the basis of their coins.

But this does not reject the historical importance of the coins. They corroborate the testimony of epigraphy and confirm that Īśānavarman, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman were independent and sovereign rulers. The fact that no coin of Īśvaravarman has been found so far may strengthen the belief that he was not an independent ruler; and from the inscriptions also we know that Īśvaravarman was a mere "*mahārāja*," and Īśānavarman was the first '*mahārājādhirāja*' in the family, and we have his coins which have their head to the left as opposed to the head on the silver coins of the Guptas. The way in which the head of the coins of the Maukharis faces on the coins may suggest the nature of their relationship with the Guptas. The inscriptions also speak of hostile relations between the Guptas and the Maukharis.

1. The Kāverī, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age, p. 106.

APPENDIX 3

SŪRYAVARMAN

From the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśivagupta[1] we learn that his mother was Vasata, daughter of king (*nṛpa*) Suryavarman "born in the unblemished family of the Varmans, great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha" The Haraha stone inscription of the time of Īśānavarman[2] informs us that his son Sūryavarman repaired the Śiva temple in (V) S 611 (554 A D) Raychaudhari[3] suggested that king Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription may be identified with the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman of the Haraha inscription

But several objections have been raised against this It has been urged by A. Ghosh[4] that the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman "were never characteristically a Magadha dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauj" But this does not appear to be a valid objection The Sirpur inscription does not refer to Sūryavarman's dynasty as a *Magadhakula* or a Magadhan dynasty It says that the Varman dynasty (*Kula*) is famous for its supremacy over Magadha (*Magadhadhipatya mahatam jātaḥ kule Varmanām*) The imperial Maukhari line of Harivarman came into possession of Magadha in the time of Śarvavarman, the son of Īśānavarman this is proved by the Nalanda seal of Śarvavarman[5] and the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II[6] The conquest of Magadha was bound to give tremendous prestige to the Maukhari dynasty, and hence the Varman dynasty of Sūryavarman is referred to by

1 E I XI pp 184 ff vs 11 12
2 E I XIV pp. 110 ff
3 P H A I 4th edition p 512 note 1
4 E.I. XXV pt VI. pp 266 ff
5. *Ibid* XXI pp 73 74
6. C I I III No 4 , pp. 213 ff

the proud epithet "great on account of its supremacy over Magadha."

The Maukhari dynasty is the only 'Varman' dynasty which is known to have exercised suzerainty over Magadha. All the members of this dynasty have names ending in 'Varman.' The only Sūryavarman, born in the family of the Varmans, who exercised sovereignty over Magadha, is the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman, son of Iśānavarman. Hiralal suggested[1] that Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription belonged to the 8th Century A D., and was a member of a Varman dynasty of Western Magadha In the light of the known history of Magadha it is hardly possible to postulate a Varman dynasty ruling in Magadha in the 8th Century. Pūrnavarman was dead before 641 A. D , and there is no evidence that one of his descendants continued to exercise sovereignty over Magadha after the lapse of about one hundred years.

A more serious objection that may be raised is that Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription is addressed as (*nripaḥ*) and there is no proof that Sūryavarman, son of Iśānavarman, ever came to the throne. Iśānavarman was succeeded by Śarvavarman and the latter by Avantivarman.[2] It may be pointed out that such seals and inscriptions are genealogical, not dynastic, and it is not impossible that Sūryavarman, the son of Iśānavarman, may have come to the throne, but was ousted by Śarvavarman or his son Avantivarman.[3] But there is no need to postulate any war of succession after the death of Iśānavarman or Śarvavarman The title '*nripah*' does not necessarily mean a full-fledged independent ruler. *Sāmanta-chūdāmani* Śārdūla is addressed as '*nripah*',[4] Yajnavarman is also called '*nripa*',[5] Krisnagupta is referred to as '*nripah*',[6] Viśvavarman

1. E I. XI pp. 184 ff
2. The Asirgarh Seal, C I I. III. No. 47. pp. 219 ff , E I. XXI. pp. 74-75; *Ibid* XXIV. pp. 283 ff , C.I I III, No 46, pp 213 ff
3. E I. XXII. pp 15 ff. Q.J. M. S. XXX pp 315.
4. C I I III No. 48 p 223.
5. *Ibid* No. 49 p. 224.
6. *Ibid* No. 42. pp. 202 ff

and Bandhuvarman of Malwa are mentioned as '*nṛpaḥ*',[1] the *Parivrajaka Maharajas* are referred to as *nṛpatis*[2] All these rulers were feudatories of their overlords and cannot be regarded as completely independent sovereigns According to Amarakośa '*nṛpaḥ*' is another name for '*mandaleśvara*[3] Thus, it is clear that the title '*nṛpaḥ*' was often used by feudatories It appears that after his conquest of Magadha, Śarvavarman appointed his brother Suryavarman as the governor of Magadha and the latter may have been allowed to be addressed as '*nṛpah* The conquest of Magadha by the Maukharis may be dated in *Cir* 585 A D, and it was about this time that Suryavarman married his daughter Vasata to Harsagupta the Somavamśi Pandava king of Mahakosala

The Pandava Somavamśi kings of Mahakosala trace their descent from Udayana[4] An inscription found at Kalanjara refers to the building of a temple of Bhadreśvara by Pandava vamśi Udayana in former times[5] Kielhorn[6] identified him with Udayana, the ancestor of the Somavamśi kings of Mahakosala Recently a copper plate inscription has been discovered in the Sohagpur tahsil of the Rewa state in Baghelkhand in Central India The inscription mentions a Pandavavamśi dynasty consisting of Jayabala, Vatsaraja, Nagabhata and Bharata alias Indrabala, ruling over Mekala B Ch Chhabra[7] took this dynasty to be a contemporary rival clan with the Pandava vamśi kings of Mahakosala V V Mirashi[8] has taken this Central Indian dynasty to be the ancestors of the Mahakosala kings, and he held Bharata or Indrabala of the inscription to be the grandfather of Indrabala son of Udayana According to the learned scholar, Indrabala II, son of Udayana, was ousted

1 *Ibid* No 18 p 82
2 *Ibid* No 21 p 95
3 Amarakośa II (VIII) No 2 p 180
4 I A XVIII p 179 ff
5 C A S R XXI p 40 pl IX L
6 J R A S 1905 pp 221
7 *Bharata Kaumudi* pp 215 ff
8 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. VIII pp 47 ff

from the Mekalā region by Hastin, the Parivrājaka king. Indrabala fled to Mahākosala, and joined the service of the Śarabhapura king Mahāsudeva, as in the Sārangarh plates[1] of the Śarabhapura king we come across a Mahāsāmanta Indrabalarāja, who is most probably the same man, son of Udayana and father of Īśānadeva[2] V. V. Mirashi[3] has conclusively proved, and it has been accepted by A Ghosh[4] and D C. Sircar[5] that the Śarabhapura kings preceded, and not followed, the Somavamśī kings in Mahākosala, as Hiralal[6] had suggested From the Kharod inscription[7] it is apparent that Indrabala and his son Īśānadeva were rulers of Bilaspur district *It is very likely that* Indrabala *over-threw* Mahāpravara, the last Śarabhapura king, and thus began the rule of the Somavamśī kings in Mahakosala Thus, it is evident that the early members of this dynasty had their centre of activity in Northern India, and it is not out of the realm of possibility that there they may have come into contact with the Maukharis We have already seen that Udayana was associated with the Kalanjara region From the Barah copper-plate of Bhojadeva[8] we come to know of one Parameśvara Śarvavarman holding sway in Kālanjara-mandala We[9] have identified him with the Maukhari king Śarvavarman Besides many reasons given in support of this identification, we may here add another valuable one In the Barah copper-plate it is stated that Nāgabhata signified his assent (*Nagabhaṭadevānumatimdriṣṭvā*) to the grant of Parameśvara Śarvavarman *On this ground* Bhandarkar had taken Śarvavarman to be a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II In the Daulatpura plate of Bhojadeva[10] it is stated

1. I H Q XXI. pp. 274 75
2. *Ibid* XXII. pp 62 ff
3. E.I XXII pp 15 ff
4. *Ibid*. XXV. p 268.
5. I H Q XIX. p. 143
6. N P P (N.S) XX, p 1 ff
7. E I. XX Appendix, p 229 No 1651
8. E.I XIX pp 15 ff
9. See *infra*.
10. E I V pp 208 ff

that Nagabhata signified his consent to a grant made by Vatsa raja (*Vatsarajadevena sasanena datta Nagabhatadevenanu matimdatta*) Nobody would suggest that Vatsaraja was a feuda tory of his son Nagabhata '*Anumati*', here, then means renewal So the grant of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman was renewed by Nagabhata as the grant of Baladitya[1] was renewed by Śarvavarman We do not know when Kalanjara came under the Maukharis In the inscriptions we often find Kalanjara mandala included in the *bhukti* of Kanyakubja The Maukha ris had made themselves *de facto* rulers of Kanyakubja in the last years of the 5th or the early years of the 6th century It is possible that the Maukharis advance into the Kalanjara re gion and Maharaja Hastin's push into Mekala induced Indra bala I to proceed to Mahakosala and seek service under the contemporary Śarabhapura king, who employed him as a high officer in the state Thus, for sometime early Pandava kings may have been the feudatories of the Maukharis[2] From the Maukhari inscriptions[3] we come to know that probably Iśvaravarman, led a campaign or campaigns against the Ān dhra king, who was most probably Madhavavarman I, of the Viṣnukuṇḍin family[4] It is very likely that the Somavamśi kings helped the Maukharis against the Viṣnukundins Tīva radeva, son of Nannadeva and grandson of Iśanadeva, may have been the contemporary king of Mahakosala and helped Iśanavarman against Madhavavarman I Tīvaradeva is re- ferred to in his seals as '*Kosaladhipati*',[5] and in the Baloda plates he is said to have "acquired the sovereignty of the whole of Kosala" The Rajim[6] and Baloda plates[6] were issued from Śrīpura. Thus, it is clear that Tīvaradeva was the ruler of the entire country of Mahakosala, and Iśanavarman's push into the south east must have been through this country as this was

1 C.I I III No 46 pp 213 f
2 Pro I H C. III pp 319 ff
3 C I I III no 51 p 228 E I XIV p 110 ff
4 J L XXXI op 96 ff I H A I 4th Edn p 309
5 C.I I III No 81 pp 291 ff E I VII pp 102 ff
6 C.I I III No 81 pp 291 ff

the route followed by Samudra Gupta This event must have happened before 554 A D, the date of the Haraha inscription[1] Soon after then Īśānavarman came into conflict with Kumara gupta of the later Gupta dynasty, and was defeated

Madhavavarman I, the Visnukundin, must have been anxious to avenge the defeat, and the marriage with a Vakataka princess[2] must have still further goaded him to occupy Kosala, which not long before had recognised the Vakataka suzerainty[4] He invaded Mahakosala, defeated Tivaradeva and entered "Trivaranagara", where he "delighted the hearts of the young women standing on (the top of) the palaces of Trivarana gara'[5] The earliest inscription to mention this event is the *first set of Ipur plates dated in the 37th year of Madhavavarman's reign.*[6] D C Sircar[7] held that 'Trivaranagara means city of Trivara' This 'Trivara' should be identified with Tivaradeva[8] Thus, it is clear that before the 37th year of his reign, Madhavavarman I had fully avenged his defeat, and in course of the struggle Tivaradeva may have lost his life The event may have happened in *Cir* 570 A D[9] Tivaradeva's brother Chandragupta had to face 'an insurmountable task,' and he accomplished this 'single handed' as he had 'no guide' nor 'any friend (who can) share the burden'[10] The apparent suggestion is that Chandragupta inherited an unhappy situation, and with great difficulty he retrieved his lost fortunes, the weakness of the Visnukundin kingdom after the death of Madhavavarman may have have facilitated this task The Maukharis saw an obvious advantage in contracting a matri

1 E I VII pp 102 ff
2 E I XIV pp 110 ff
3 J L XXVI p 97 note 1
4 E I IX pp 267 ff
5 E I XVII pp 336 ff
6 *Ibid*
7 J L XXVI pp 112 ff J A H R S VI pp 17 ff
8 *Ibid*
9 Mirash (E I XXII pp 15 ff) had at first held that Tivaradeva s period was 530 to 550 A D later on he modified h s view and observed that Tivaradeva may have come to the throne in about 560 A D (*Ibid* XXVI pp 227 ff)
10 *Ibid* XI p 194

monial alliance with the Somavamsi dynasty of Mahakosala So Suryavarman's daughter Vāsatā was married to Harsagupta, son of Chandragupta The event may have happened in *Cir* 582 3 A. D It is not improbable that the Maukharis may have helped Chandragupta or Harṣagupta in rehabilitating the kingdom after the sack by the Visnukundins It has been seen that when the mention of the family of the mother is made in the inscriptions, it generally suggests some help given by the mother's family to the dynasty Mahāśivagupta may have come to the throne in *Cir* 596 A D, and he ruled at least for 57 years [1] So his period may have extended from 596 to 655 A D.[2] Suryavarman, the maternal grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Balārjuna, was the governor of Magadha after its conquest by the Maukharis, and this fact together with his connection with the illustrious Maukhari family could not be ignored by Śivagupta in his inscriptions.

Thus, we find that the facts of history, as known from different sources, can be easily fitted in without jeopardising the identification of Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription with Sūryavarman, the son of Isanavarman. The only objection that remains to be discussed is paleographic Keilhorn[3] assigned the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta to the 8th or 9th Century A D, later on he placed it in the beginning of the 9th Century A D [4] Hiralal[5] placed another Sirpur grant of the same ruler in the 8th or 9th Century A D Kielhorn[6] held that the characters of the Sirpur stone inscription "resemble those of Ghosrawan inscription" belonging to

1 Q J M S XXXVI. no I pp 1 ff

2 Mirashi (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, VIII pp 47 ff) suggests that the period of Mahaśivagupta extended from 590 to 650 A D The fact that he ruled for 57 years suggests that he may have come to the throne as a minor and his mother acted as the regent This also explains why his maternal uncle could take his refuge there

3 I A. XVIII pp 179 ff

4. E I IV pp 258 ff

5 *Ibid* XI pp 184 ff

6. I A XVIII pp 179 ff

the time of Devapāla. A Ghosh[1] has brought forward new data in support of a later date of Tīvaradeva and Śivagupta.

There is no doubt that Kielhorn was guided by the lead given by Fleet[2] that the Rajim plate of Tīvaradeva was "undoubtedly almost, if not quite, the latest record" in his *Corpus* of Gupta inscriptions. Fleet was himself led by his mistaken identification of Devagupta, father of Prabhāvatīguptā, with Devagupta, son of Ādityasena of Magadha.[3] But it is now established[4] that Devagupta, father of Prabhāvatīguptā was no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the imperial Gupta dynasty. Therefore, the Vākāṭaka inscriptions of the box-headed characters are not to be assigned to the 8th Century A. D., but to the 4th to 6th Centuries A. D. The Rajim and Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva are also in the same characters, and therefore paleographically they may be placed in the 6th Century A. D. The inscriptions of his grand-nephew Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta may belong to the 7th Century A. D. The characters of the Ghosrawan inscription of the time of Devapāla[5] appear to be much more developed than the characters of the Sirpur inscription. It is significant to note that the inscriptions belonging to the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna are written both in the box-headed and Kuṭila scripts. The Sirpur and Lakṣmaṇa-temple inscriptions are in the Kuṭila script, but the Mallar and Lodhia plates have box-headed characters.[6] "It appears that the official script was box-headed."[7] Mirashi[8] has shown that neither the script, nor the language nor the style of the inscriptions of Tīvaradeva shows that they are later in date. A Ghosh[9] pointed out that the Bhaṇḍak inscrip-

1. E.I. XXV. pp. 266 ff.
2. C.I.I. III. Intro. p. 16.
3. C.I.I. III. Intro. p. 15.
4. J.R.A.S. XX. (N.S.) pp. 53 ff.
5. I.A. XVII. pp. 307 ff., and plate.
6. I.A. XVIII. pp. 179. E.I. XI. p. 184 ff.; Q.J.M.S. XXXVI. pp. 1 ff. E.I. XXIII. pp. 113 ff.
7. Q.J.M.S. XXXVI. pp. 1 ff.
8. E.I. XXII. pp. 15 ff.
9. *Ibid.* XXV. pp. 266 ff.

there is no real palaeographic difficulty in attributing the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta and Vāsatā to the middle of the 7th Century A D Alphabet "Ka" is very similar in form to the "Kas" of the Banskhera plate of Harsa (628 29 A D), the Ganjām plates of the time of Śasanka (619-20 A D), and the Bodh Gaya inscription of Mahānaman Some of the "da-s" of the Sirpur inscription show a near approach to the later forms which are quite established in the inscriptions of Ādityasena and in Multai inscription, later in date The letter "bha" is one of the alphabets which has the antiquated form according to even Hiralal[1] 'Ma-s' of the Sirpur inscription show a very close resemblance to those of the Bodh Gaya inscription of Mahānaman (588 89 A D.). Bipartite "ya" may be seen in the Harāhā (554 A D) and the Mahānamān inscriptions; the same can be said of "la". Some of the "sa" of the Sirpur inscription resemble those of the Bodh Gaya inscription and Midnapur plates of Śasānka. Both forms of "sa" are noticed in the Sirpur inscription but exactly the same feature is found in the Ganjām plates of Śaśānka Some of the "sa-s" of the Midnapur plates of Śaśānka show forms which are found in the Bodh Gaya inscription The "ha-s" of the Sirpur inscription have exactly the same forms as are to be seen in the Bodh Gaya inscription Thus, on palaeographical grounds the Sirpur inscription can be easily placed after the Bodh Gaya inscription and in the period following Śaśānka and Harsa. The Sirpur inscription should be placed earlier than the Aphsad and Multai inscriptions, where the more developed forms of ka, da, ma, bha, ya, ha, are regularly met with.

According to Ghosh[2] the Harāhā inscription is distinctly earlier than the Bhandak inscription of Nannarāja and the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta, and therefore Sūryavarman of the Harāhā inscription cannot be the father-in law of Harṣagupta But the evidence of palaeography is not as con-

1 E I XI pp 184 ff
2 E.I. XXV pp 266 ff

clusive as the learned scholar thinks There are bi-partite "yas" in the Haraha inscription, though there are the tripartite forms—the earlier ones—as well There is nothing else which would definitely make the Haraha inscription earlier than the Bhandak inscription of Nannaraja On palaeographic grounds the Ārang plate of Bhimasena should be placed earlier than the Haraha inscription as is clear from the comparison of letters "ka', "bha", "ya", "śa" and "ha", and we agree with Mirashi[1] in reading the date of the inscription as G E 182, not 282 Therefore, there is no unsurmountable palaeographical hurdle in identifying Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription with Sūryavarman, son of Īśānavarman It is not necessary to believe that Suryavarman was alive when Vasata constructed the temple during the reign of her son All the known facts of history clearly support the identification, and therefore there is no reason to doubt the identity and then to construct an imaginary course of events To those who put great trust on palaeographic evidence one may refer to the learned opinion of the great indologist Sylvain Levi in whose opinion "palaeographic tests have little independent value although they may be used as a check upon or guide to the interpretation of positive history "[2]

1 E.I. XXVI pp 227 ff
2 I.A XXXI pp 196 ff

APPENDIX 4

Capital of the Empire of the early Pālas

What was the capital of the extensive empire of Dharmapāla and Devapāla? We have already seen that the Pālas, whenever they are mentioned in the inscriptions of their adversaries, are generally referred to as lord of Vanga or Gauda The Gwālıar *praśasti* of Bhoja I refers to Nāgabhata's victory over the 'king of Vanga.'[1] In the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka,[2] Kakka is credited with having acquired fame by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri In the Badal pillar inscription,[3] Devapāla is referred to as Gaudeśvara Śankaragana, a Guhilot prince, defeated 'the king of Gauda'[4] From the Kahla plates,[5] we learn that Gunambhodhideva, a feudatory of Bhoja I, 'took away the fortune of the Gauḍas' In the Wani-Dindori[6] and Radhanpur[7] grants Vatsarāja is said to have become 'intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty (of the country of) Gauda' The Baroda plates of Karkarāja[8] state that the lord of the Gurjaras became 'evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauda and lord of Vanga' From the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa[9] we learn that Dhruva defeated the lord of Gauda in the Gangetic-Yamunā Doab. The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa[10] refers to the 'fettering of the Gaudas' Dharma is the king of Vanga in the Prabhāvakacharita There is no doubt that in all these references to the lord of Gauda, or Vanga, the Pālas are meant. Therefore, the

1. I E I XVIII pp 110 ff
2 *Ibid* pp 87 ff
3 E I II pp. 164 ff
4. *Ibid.* XII pp 10 ff
5 *Ibid* VII pp. 86 ff
6 I.A XI pp 156 ff
7. E I. VI pp 273 ff
8 I.A. XII pp 164 ff
9 E I XVIII pp 235 ff
10 *Ibid* VI pp 98 ff

natural presumption is that the origin of the empire of Dharmapala and Devapala was somewhere in Bengal

But at the same time there are certain facts which point to a different conclusion There are three inscriptions of Dharmapala's time and of these two, the Bodh Gaya and the Nalanda inscriptions, have been found in South Bihar, particularly in Magadha All the eleven known inscriptions belonging to the period of Devapala have been found in South Bihar Two inscriptions of Śurapala have been found in Nalanda Four out of five inscriptions of Narayanapala belong to the same part of the country All the inscriptions of Rajya pala I and Vigrahapala II come from South Bihar Out of eight inscriptions of Mahipala I, five belong to Bihar Actually out of about 38 inscriptions belonging to the Pala period up to Mahipala I, only six have been found outside Bihar This overwhelming geographical distribution of the inscriptions strongly tends to prove that Magadha was the centre of the empire since its conquest by Gopala I

The personal interest of the Pala kings in Magadha was great Gopala is credited with the foundation of Nalendra vihara, not far from Oddantapura (town of Bihar) Dharmapala or Devapala founded the Vikramaśila monastery Whatever controversy there may be as regards the exact site of the university, all are agreed that it was in South Bihar Dharmapala's and Devapala's interest in Nalanda is proved by their inscriptions found there, and by the archaeological excavations at Nalanda[1] The fact that the last remnant of the Pala rule survived in Magadha, long after the Palas were uprooted in Bengal, should be given its due importance Govindapala was, perhaps the last Pala king, and his inscription has been found at Gaya[2] All this leads to the irresistible conclusion that the Pala rule and its traditions were more deeply rooted in Magadha than in Bengal In a sense Magadha had become more '*Pala*

1 A S I A R 1928 29 pp 9 -98
2 M A S B V pp 109 ff

isa' than Varendrī or Gauḍa or Vaṅga, which may have been the original home and kingdom of the Pālas.

Another more important point in this connection is worth discussion. The Khalimpur copper-plate[1] of the 32nd year of the reign of Dharmapāla is an official royal grant and is issued from Pāṭaliputra. The Nālandā copper-plate of the same ruler is issued from Kapilā[2] (?). The Monghyr[3] and Nālandā copper-plates[4] of Devapāla and the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla[5] are issued from Mudgagiri. The Khalimpur copper-plate inscription describes Pāṭaliputra in these glowing terms:—"Now from his royal camp of victory, pitched at Pāṭaliputra, where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the north of the Bhāgīrathī make it seem as if a series of mountain-tops had been sunk to build another causeway: where the brightness of daylight being darkened by dimly packed arrays of rutting elephants, the rainy season (with its masses of black clouds) might be taken constantly to prevail: where the firmament is rendered green by dust, dug up by the hard hoofs of unlimited troops of horses possessed by many kings of the north; and where the earth is bending beneath the weight of the innumerable foot-soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvīpa, assembled to render homage to their supreme lord—the devout worshipper of Sugata, *Parameśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapāladeva*."[6] The term '*Jayaskandhāvāra*' has been usually translated as a "royal camp of victory." It is true that in many inscriptions where it has been used, it can scarcely mean the royal capital. The Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarman[7] were issued from '*Skandhāvāra Karṇasuvarṇa*' which may have been then in the possession of Bhāskaravarman, but could hardly be the capital of the empire

1. E.I. IV. pp. 245 ff.
2. *Ibid.* XXIII. pp. 290 ff.
3. I.A. XXI. pp. 253 ff.
4. E.I. XVIII. pp. 324 ff.
5. I.A. XV. pp. 304 ff.
6. E.I. IV. pp. 252-53.
7. *Ibid.* XII. pp. 65 ff.

of Kamarupa The Madhuban copper plate of Harṣa[1] was issued from Kapitthika, 'the royal residence of victory,' and it has been identified with modern Sankisa, about 40 miles north west of Kanauj,[2] The Banskhera plate of Harṣa was issued from '*Jayaskandhavara Vardhamanakoṭi*'[3] It is admitted on all hands that the capital of Harsa's empire was Kanauj, neither Kapitthika nor Vardhamānakoti The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II[4] was issued from the *Jayaskandhavara* near Gomatikottaka It is obvious that the capital of the later Gupta king could not be so far away on the banks of the Gomati in the Uttara Pradesh There are many such examples which go to show that by the term '*Skandhavara*' it was not the capital of the kingdom that was necessarily intended, rather at best the place where the king was staying during the issue of the grant Therefore, it may be urged that Pataliputra and Mudgagiri, from where the royal grants were issued by Dharmapala, Devapala and Narayanapala, were not the royal capitals, but temporary royal residences or camps, as Vardhamanakoti was in the time of Harṣa But it should not be forgotten that the phrase '*Skandhavara*' has been also used to signify the capital of a kingdom The Vappaghosavata grant of Jayanaga[5] was issued from Karnasuvarna, and it is certain that it was the capital of the Gauda kingdom The Dighwa Dubauli plate of Maharaja Mahendrapala[6] was issued from *Skandhavara* Mahodaya Fleet took *Skandhavara* to mean only '*a camp*', and so placed Mahodaya somewhere near Banaras D R Bhandarkar[7] has conclusively shown that Mahodaya was another name for Kanyakubja (Kanauj) The Daulatpura inscription and Barah copper plate of Bhoja[8] were

1 *Ibid* VII pp 175 58
2 *Ibid*
3 *Ibid* IV pp 208 ff
4 C I I III No 46 pp 215 ff
5 E I XVIII pp 60 ff
6 I.A XV pp 105 ff
7 J B B R A S XXI pp 407 8 Fleet accepted the identification (E I VI pp 198)
8 E I V pp 208 ff, E I XIX pp 15 ff

also issued from *Skandhavāra* Mahodaya The Bengal Asiatic Society plate of Vinayakapāla[1] was also issued from Mahodaya There is no doubt that Kanauj was the capital of the Pratihāra empire under Bhoja I and his successors Therefore, the term *Skandhavāra* or *Jayaskandhāvara* was also used to mean the royal capital[2] Halāyudha in Abhidānaratnamālā, II, 131 says that *Skandhavara* is also known as '*Rajadhānī*' (capital)[3]

Therefore, if the use of the phrase '*Jayaskandhāvāra* with reference to Pataliputra and Mudgagiri in the Pāla inscriptions does not by itself prove that they were the royal capitals of Dharmapala and his successors, it cannot be made to disprove our suggestion that these places were the capitals of the empire. Our hypothesis draws support from many facts known from the history of the Pālas According to Tāranātha, Gopāla conquered Magadha and founded the monastery of Nalendra, near Oddantapura Dharmapāla made extensive conquests and brought practically the whole of Northern India under his sceptre. He came into conflict with Nāgabhata II, and submitted to Govinda III ,As all these events happened earlier than *Cir.* 800 A D ,[5] it may be safely asserted, even if Gopāla's conquest of Magadha is doubted,[6] that Dharmapāla must have come into possession of Magadha in the very early years of his reign. His Khalimpur plate[7] was issued from Pātaliputra and is dated in his 32nd regnal year, which fell in the last years of Dharmapāla. There is absolutely no evidence that Dharmapāla had to carry on some military campaign in his 32nd year near Pataliputra, where he may have been then encamping The eloquent words in which Pātaliputra with its river-borne trade is mentioned in the inscription suggest that Pataliputra was not a temporary military camp but a prosperous and proud

1 I A XV pp 138 ff

2 In Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary, p 114 one of the meanings of *Skandhavara* is a royal residence or capital

3 Quoted by Kielhorn, E I V p. 209 note 1

4 I A. IV p 366

5 See *Supra*

6 H B R I p 103

7 E I IV pp 251 ff

city, befitting a royal capital of a great empire The clear statement that "the innumerable foot soldiers of all the kings of Jambudvipa assembled (at Pataliputra) to render homage to their lord (Dharmapala)' further tends to heighten the possibility of Pataliputra being the imperial capital where the king resided and the representatives of vassal states paid homage It appears very probable that Dharmapala was in the habit of holding imperial durbars presumably at the capital, and on such occasions a lavish parade of the various units of the armed forces, joined by the representative soldiery of the vassal states, was held One such grand imperial ceremony was held during the 32nd year of Dharmapala's reign and that may have been the occasion of the issuing of the Khalimpur grant In India there has always been a traditional love for imperial pomp and splendour, which catches the imagination of the credulous masses, satisfies the pride of the imperial authority, and overawes the feudatories Even, the British held imperial durbars in London, where representatives and soldiers of the dominions and colonies took part If Pataliputra was not the capital of Dharmapala, it is not easy to explain why an imperial durbar should be held there, and why the foot soldiers of the vassal kings should pay homage to their overlord at Pataliputra

The fact that it was not an ordinary victorious camp from which the Khalimpur copper plate was issued is further strengthened by a comparison of the inscription with the Nalanda copper plate inscription of the same ruler The Nalanda plate was issued from Kapila (?), which is simply described as "*mahanau hastyasva rathapatti sampattyupatta jayaśabdat kapila* (?) *vasakat śrimajjaya skandhavarat*' Its comparison with the description of Pataliputra in the Khalimpur plate and that of Mudgagiri in Monghyr and Bhagalpur plates clearly shows that Pataliputra and Monghyr had a far greater status than Kapila (?), the royal camp of victory In this connection it may be pointed out that exactly the same verse which is used to describe 'Kapila has been used to describe Karnasuvarna in

the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarman In identical words is described the *Skandhāvāra* near Gomatikoṭṭaka in the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jivitagupta II It is known that Karna-suvarna and the camp near Gomatikottaka were not the capitals of the kingdoms of Bhāskaravarman and Jivitagupta II respectively So Kapila (?) was also one such temporary camp of the king Dharmapāla, but Pātaliputra was the imperial city It was the capital of India since the time of Uadyana in the 5th Century B C, down to the days of the imperial Guptas But the Hūna invasions of the 5th and 6th Centuries A D devastated Pataliputra, and in the time of Yuan Chwang in the mid seventh Century A D, it was in ruins But it is clear from the Khalimpur inscription that it was a prosperous city It appears that between the departure of Yuan Chwang and the engraving of the Khalimpur plate Pataliputra revived It is possible that Dharmapala may have been responsible for its restoration to its former honourable position When Magadha passed under the control of the Palas, and Dharmapāla entered the race for imperial honour with the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, Magadha, with its great city Pataliputra situated in the centre of the Gangetic valley and controlling the trade-routes, suggested to Dharmapāla the advantages of shifting his centre of activity from somewhere in Bengal to Pātaliputra in Magadha Dharmapala had imperial designs and was anxious to emulate the imperial Mauryas and the Guptas Naturally therefore, the unrivalled imperial traditions of Magadha and Pataliputra impressed him enormously, and he chose Pataliputra to be the capital of his extensive empire

Devapāla appears to have shifted the capital from Pataliput ra to Mudgagiri (Monghyr) The Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāladeva, dated in the 33rd year of his reign, is issued from Mudgagiri [1] The description of Mudgagiri is in verses identical with those in the Khalimpur copper-plate used to describe

1. I A XXI pp 253 ff

Pāṭaliputra.[1] The Nālandā copper-plate[2] of Devapāla was also issued from Mudgagiri, and is dated in the 39th year. It is important to note that these two are the only royal and official copper-plates issued by Devapāla. The Nālandā copper-plate is surmounted by a seal of the emperor bearing the legend : '*Śri Devapāladevasya*'.[3] The Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla[4] is dated in the 17th year, and was also issued from Mudgagiri. The description of Mudgagiri in lines. 24-28 is in the same verses as in the Monghyr and Nālandā plates of Devapāla. The fact that in the 33rd and 39th years of Devapāla and in the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla, Mudgagiri was the royal residence, makes it clear that it could hardly be a mere temporary military camp. It was, really, the capital of the Pāla empire in the time of Devapāla and continued to be so under his successors. The fact that Kakka is said to have fought the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri[5] confirms the association of the Pālas with it. It is possible that the persistent pressure of the Pratīhāras may have induced Devapāla to shift the capital further east to the naturally fortified city of Mudgagiri on the Ganges.

In view of the discussion above, we feel that unless any positive evidence to the contrary is forth-coming, on the known evidences it is reasonable to hold that during the early Pāla period Magadha became the heart of the empire, and Pāṭaliputra and Monghyr served as capitals, one after the other. The fact that the Pālas are referred to as lords of Vaṅga or Gauḍa in the inscriptions does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the capital of Dharmapāla was somewhere in Vaṅga in Eastern Bengal, and that of Devapāla was in Gauḍa.[6] We have already seen that the home of the Pālas and their original kingdom were somewhere in Bengal, and Magadha was a

1. Compare lines. 25-29 of the Khalimpur plate with lines. 24-27 of the Monghyr plate.
2. E.I. XVII pp. 310 ff.
3. A.S.I A.R. 1921-22 pp. 27.
4. I.A. XV pp. 304 ff.
5. E.I. XVIII pp. 87 ff.
6. H.B.R.I. p. 31.

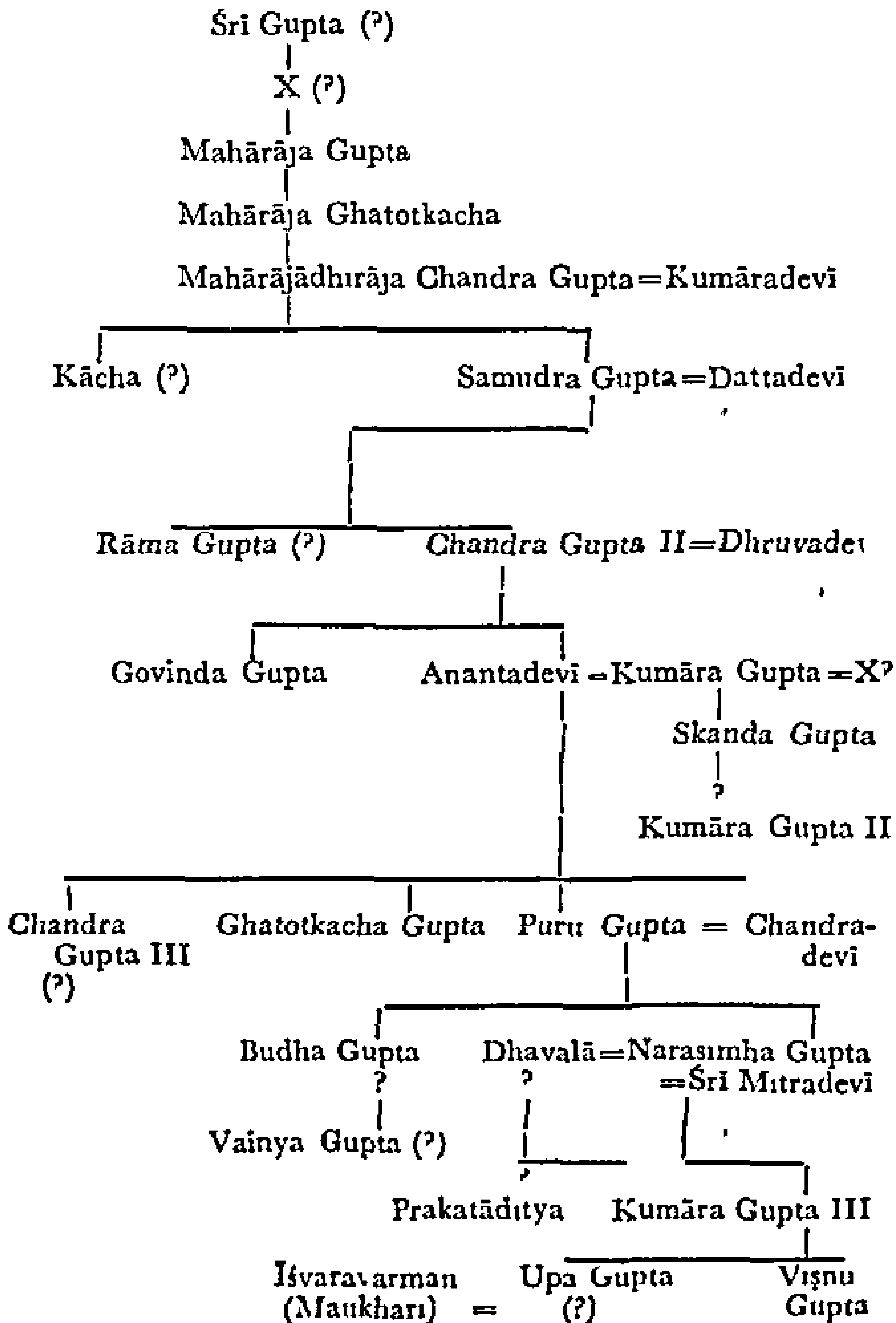
conquered province. It may be because of this that the Pālas were referred to as lords of Vaṅga or Gauḍa. But their close association with Magadha was not unknown. In the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarṣa,[1] Govinda III is referred to as having caused "the king of Magadha to sit and fast to death." The king of Magadha was certainly Dharmapāla. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued to be called the Karṇāṭas even when they had their nerve centre far away from Karṇāṭaka. The dynasty of Nānyadeva of Mithilā was referred to as a Karṇāṭa even when it was settled in Mithilā for a long time. Therefore, it is very likely that even when the Pālas had made Magadha their political centre, they continued to be known as a people of Gauḍa or Vaṅga in view of their original home or ancestral kingdom being in that part of the country.

So the best days of the Pāla empire under Dharmapāla and Devapāla contributed in a substantial way to the revival of Magadha. It was from Magadha that the rays of Pāla imperialism radiated to the different parts of India. The Pālas became the paramount power in Northern India under Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and Magadha, containing the capital of the empire, actively shared in the glory. In a way the conquered had made the conqueror captive. Magadha became the adopted home of Pāla imperialism and the radiating centre of culture and civilisation of the period.

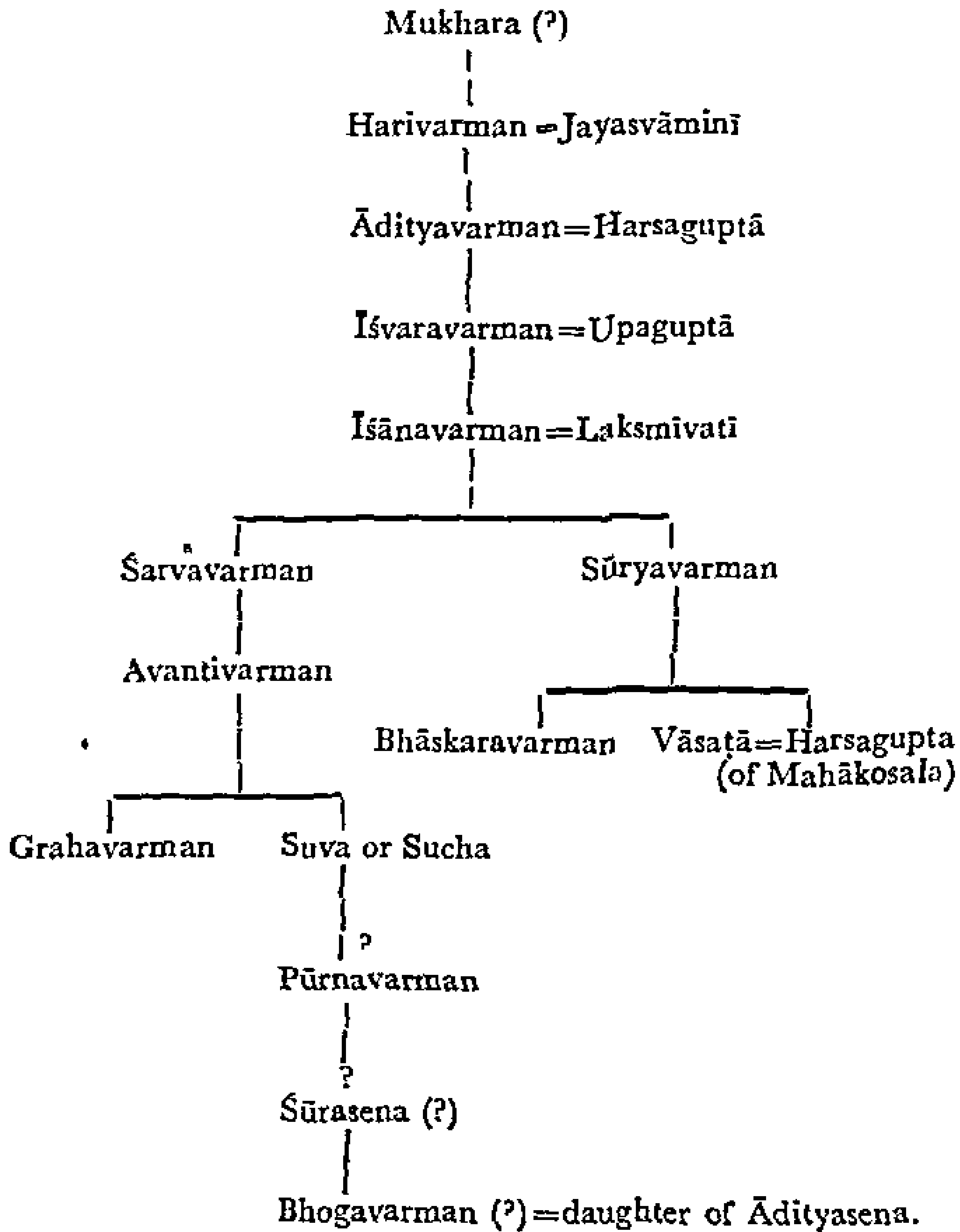
1. E.I. XVIII p. 254. v. 30.

Genealogical Tables.

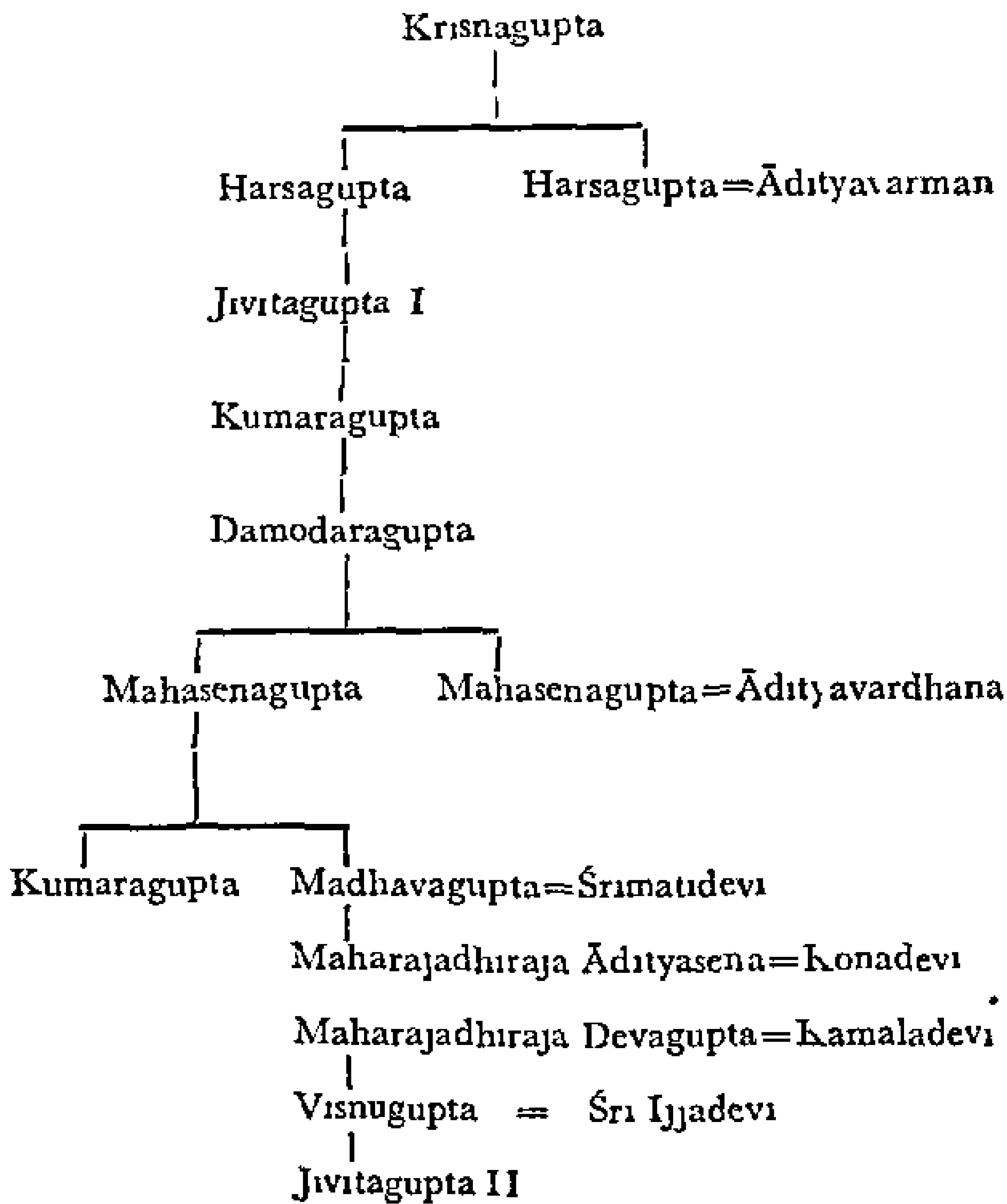
A The Imperial Guptas



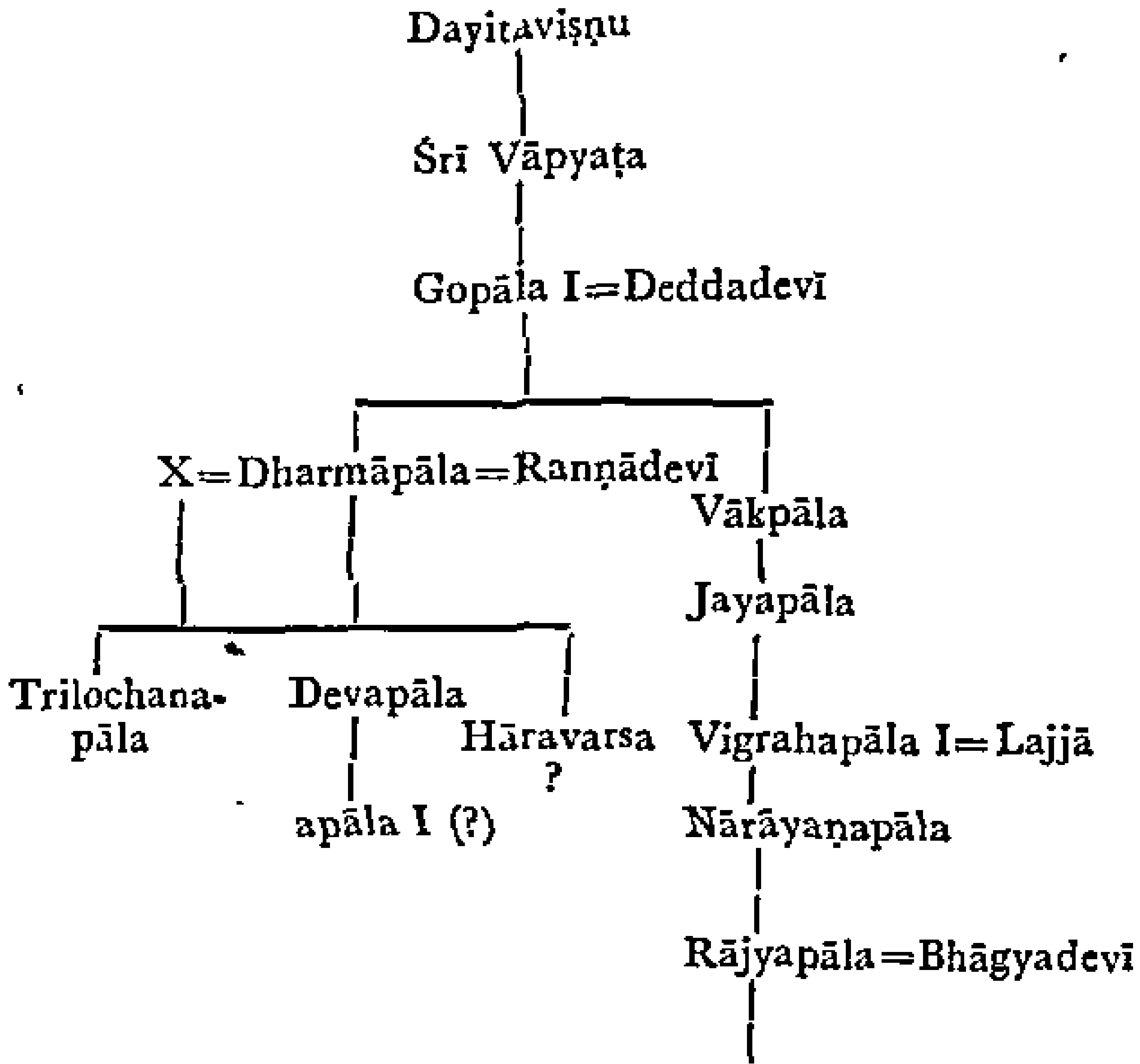
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List of Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa	M Hamid
Magadhas in Ancient India	B C Law
Magadhan literature	H P Shastri.
The Maukharis	E A Piers
Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri Memorial Volume	
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Markandeya Purana	Tr by F. E Pargiter.
Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material—(Memoirs Archaeological Survey of India, No 66)	Hiranand Shastri
New History of the Indian People, Vol VI.	Edited by R C Majumdar and A S Altekar.
On Yuan Chwang (2 vols)	Thomas Watters
Oriental Studies in Honour of C E Pavry	
Orissa in the Making	*B C.* Majumdar
Palas of Bengal (Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol V)	R D Banerji
Political History of Ancient India (3rd and 4th Editions)	H C Raychaudhuri
Progress of Indian Studies, 1917-1942	R N Dandekar.
Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age	F. E Pargiter
Record of the *Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*	(I Tsing) Tr by Takakusu
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Rāstrakūtas and their Times.	A S Altekar
Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal	R L Mitra
Sanskrit—English Dictionary	Monier Williams
Select Inscriptions, Vol I	D C Sircar
Si-yu ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World.	Trans by S Beal
Social History of Kāmarūpa (3 Vols)	N N Vasu
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Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Non Muhammedan series	B B Vidyavinod
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Vedic Index (2 vols)	A A Macdonnel and A B Keith
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Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir E Denison Ross.	
Woolner Commemoration Volume	

II Journals aud Periodical Publications

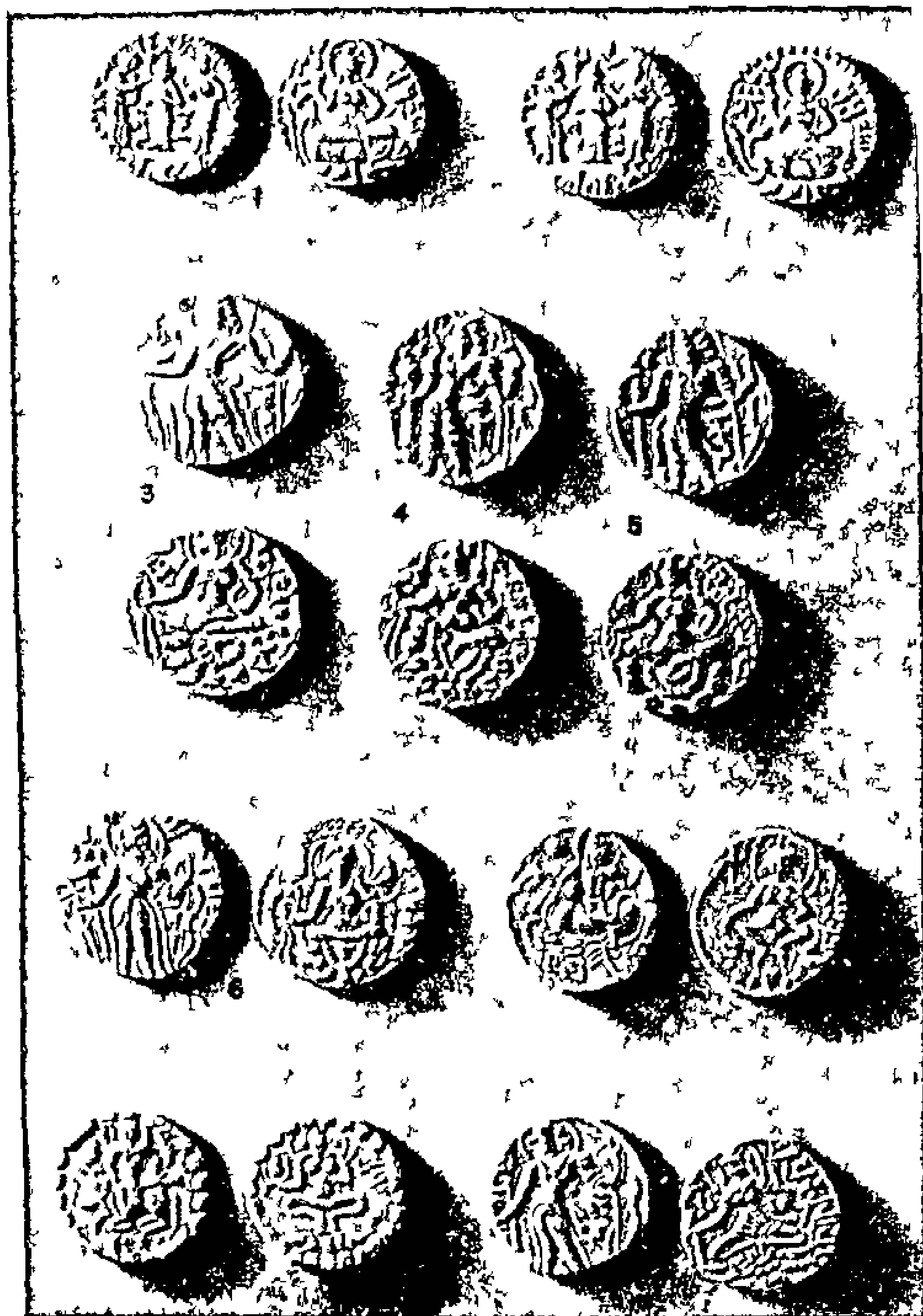
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society
Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports
Archaeological Survey Reports (Cunningham)
Archaeological Survey of Mysore Reports
Bharatiya Itihasa Samśodhaka Mandala Quarterly.
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Journal of the University of Bombay
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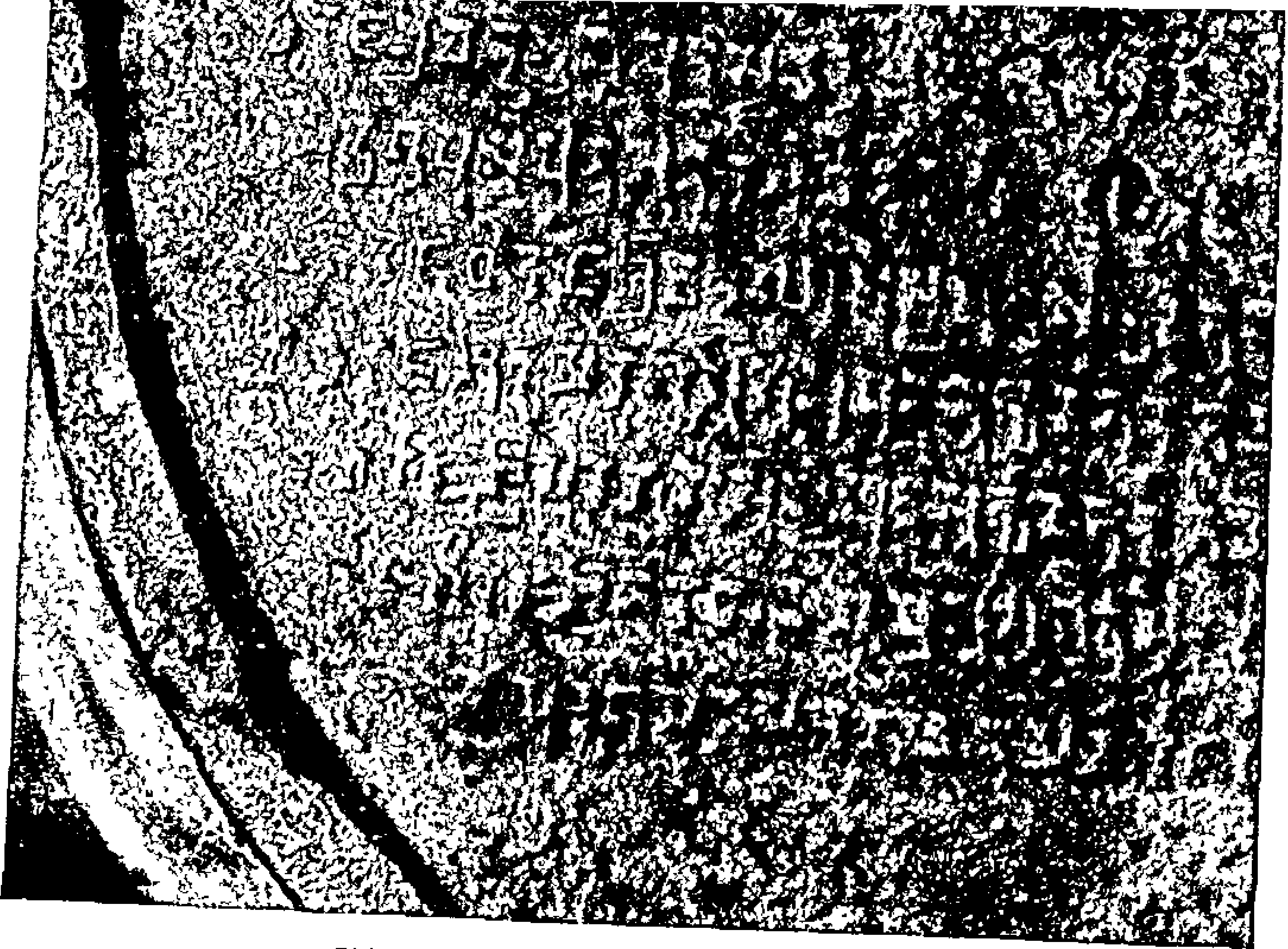
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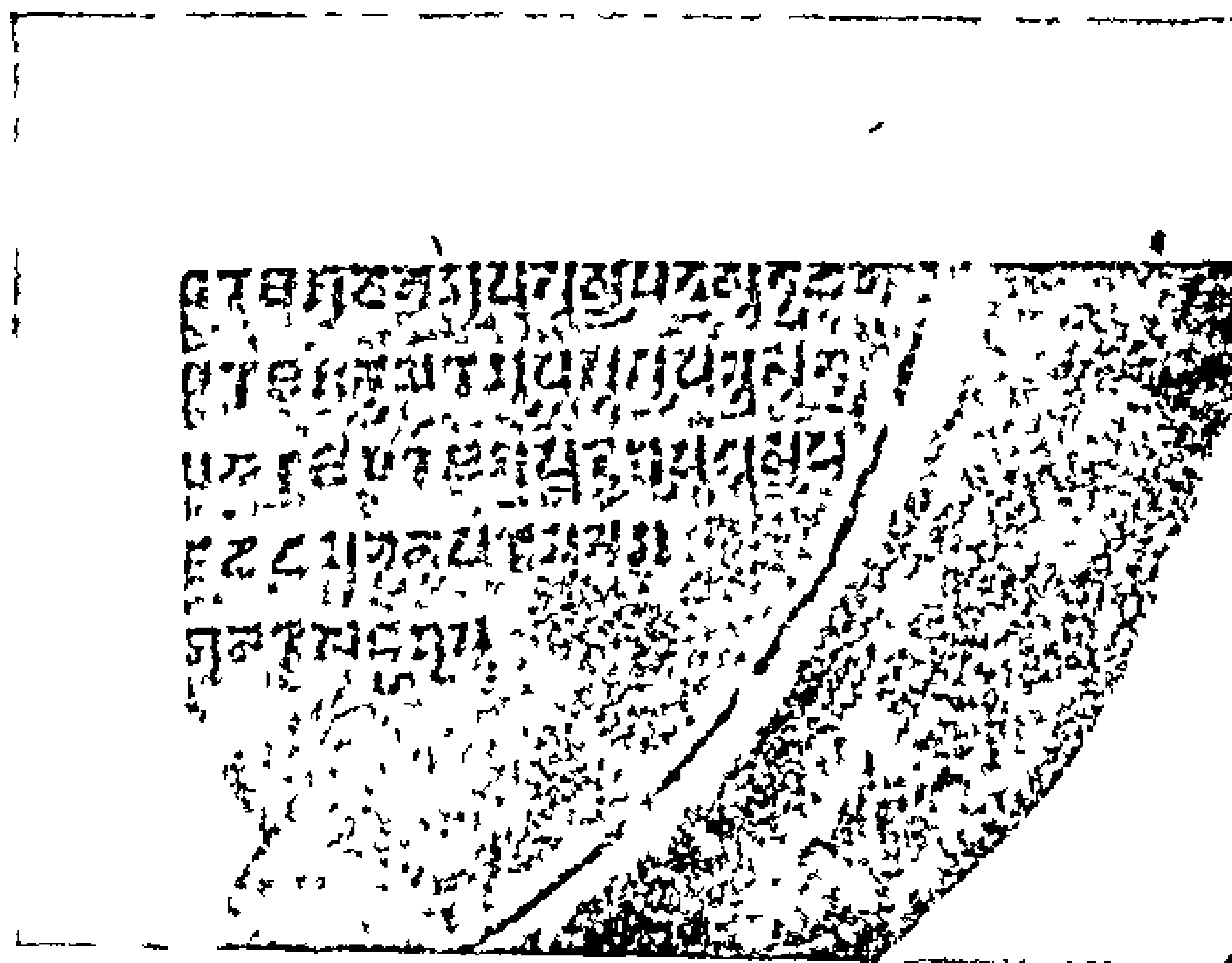
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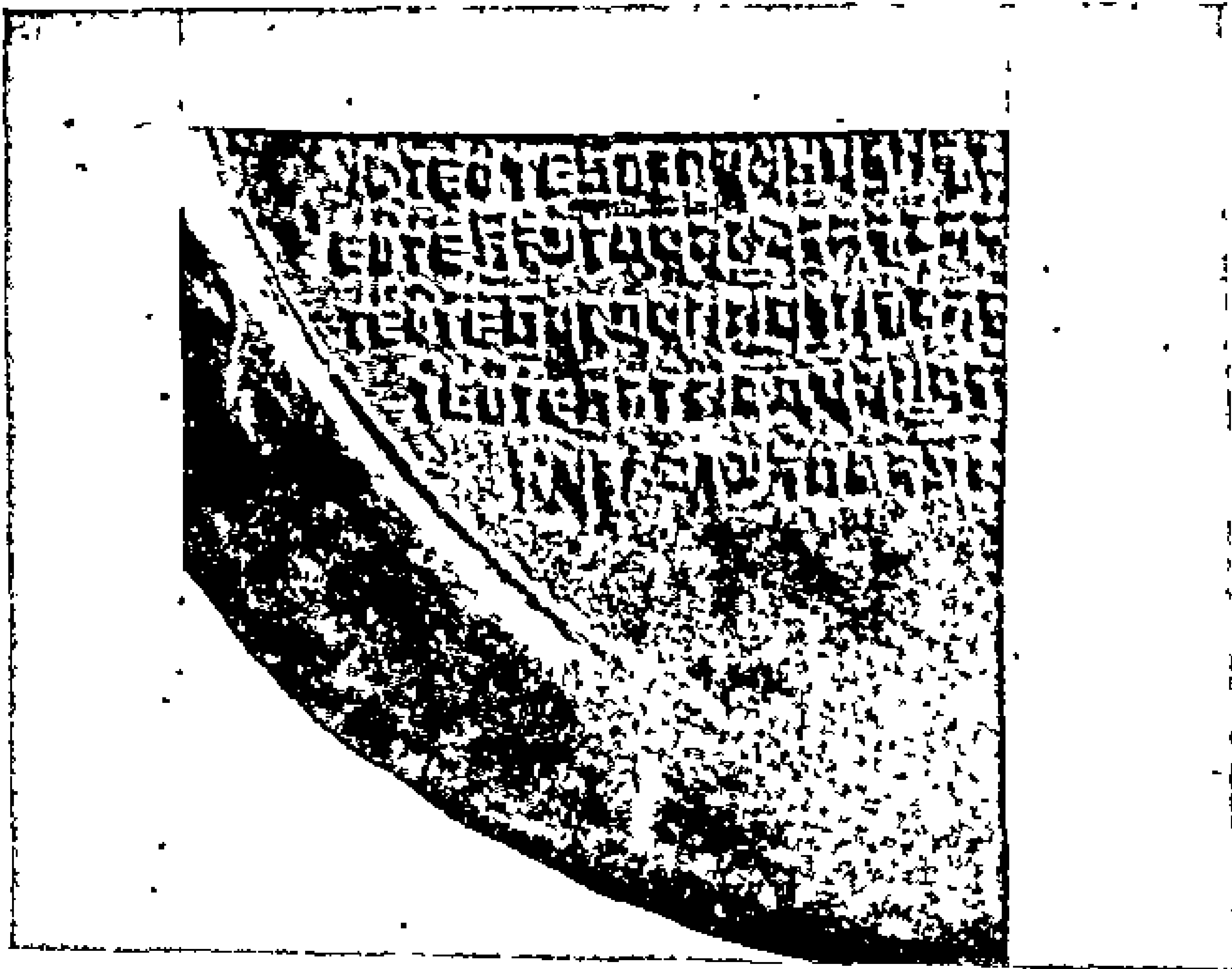
Coins of Kumara Gupta I, II and III, Puru Gupta, jaya,—Sasanka



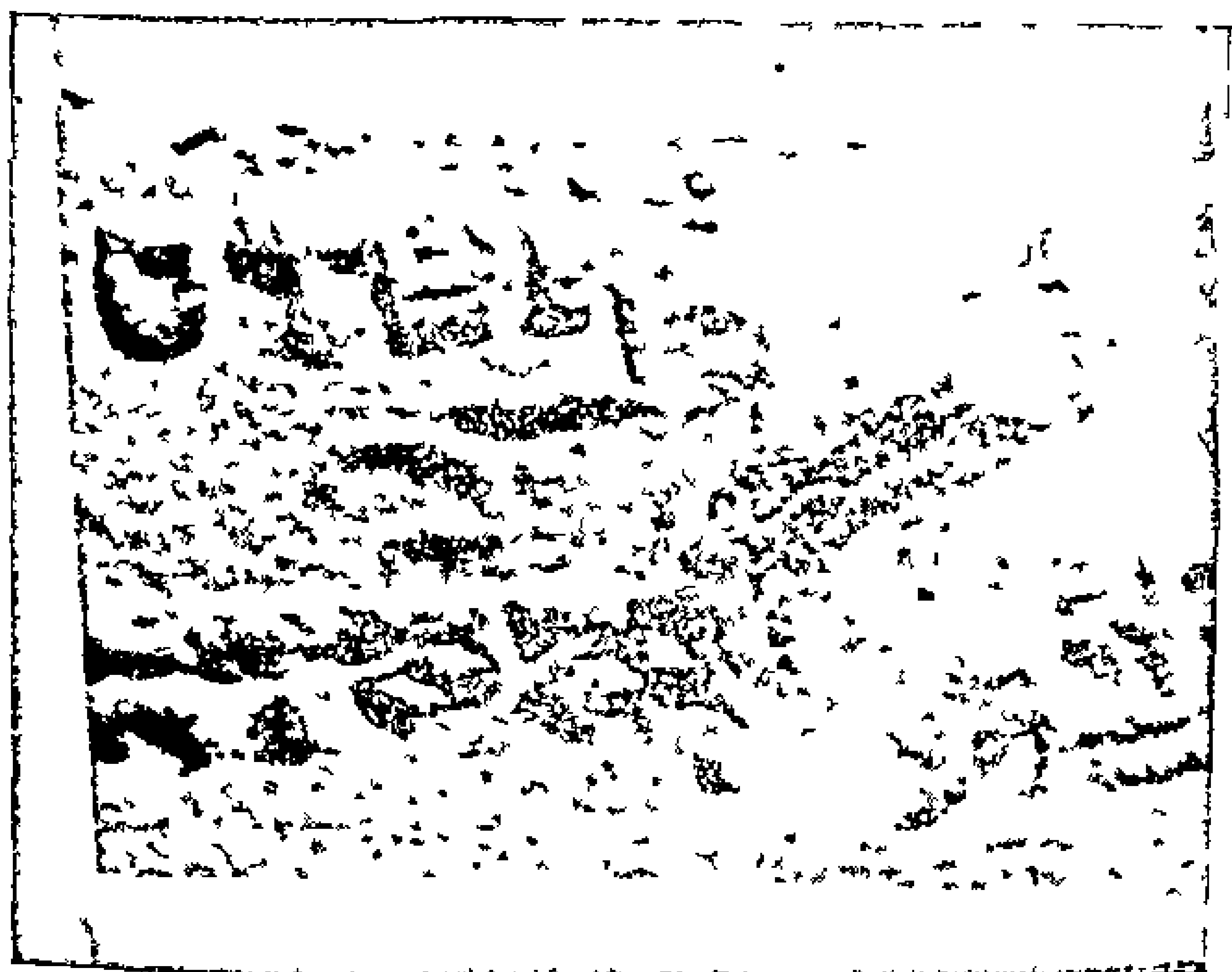
Bhitari Seal of Kumāra Gupta III



Nālandā Seal of Narasimha Gupta



Nālandā Seal of Kumāra Gupta III



Nalandā Seal of Visnu Gupta

SELECT OPINIONS

"The subject of Dr. Sinha's study has been the history of Magadha, the modern Bihar, in ancient times, and this naturally has entailed examination of the relations between Magadha and the other kingdoms of India with which it came into contact. This task he has fulfilled with notable skill and energy, carefully checking anew all the evidences furnished by monuments, coins and literature; and he has thus been able not only to correct many errors of previous writers but also to throw much new light on dark places of Indian history. His work is accurate, his insight keen and often original, and his literary style vigorous."

L. D. Barnett

"Dr. B. P. Sinha's thoroughness and independence in research, keen desire to get at the facts and unwillingness to take anything for granted, his sound scholarship and intellectual powers admirably backed by carefulness and accuracy in method combine to make him a historian of unusual promise. This thesis for the Ph. D., London, of which I was an examiner, is a brilliant piece of work in which Dr. Sinha's sound methods and accurate scholarship throw much unexpected light on a period of Indian history on which a great deal of work has already been done, besides sweeping away a number of long established errors."

J. Allan